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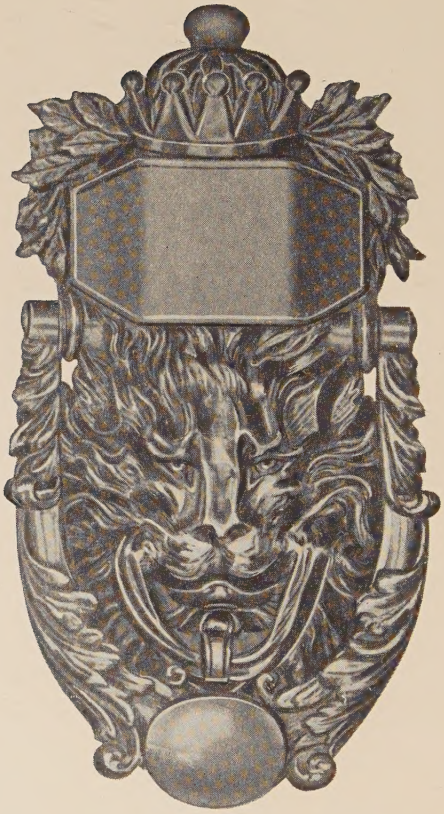

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LETTERS
OF
A LOYALIST LADY

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OLD KNOCKER FROM THE
HULTON HOUSE

From a photograph lent by Edward W. Baker, Esq., of Brookline, Massachusetts

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LETTERS

OF A

LOYALIST LADY

Being the Letters of Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767–1776



CAMBRIDGE:

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LETTERS
OF
A LOYALIST LADY

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INTRODUCTION

THE letters printed in this book were written by Anne Hulton, the sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs in Boston in the years just before the Revolution. They are the property of the Rev. Rhys Jones of Fleet, England, and, except for a few copies, — letters I to VIII inclusive, and the latter part of X, — are the original manuscripts, and are now published with Mr. Jones's consent. They are here presented as historical documents without editing, and with all their vagaries in capitalization, spelling and punctuation exactly preserved. Several years ago the editor of the *North American Review* heard of them and accepted seven to be used as an article in his magazine. He has courteously permitted them to be included in the present volume where they are inserted in their proper chronological places.

There are a few lines about Hulton in Sabine's *Loyalists* and brief references to him occur from time to time in the diary of John Rowe. To the scanty information to be found in those writers, it is possible now to add a few details. Earlier letters of Miss Hulton's were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1904; and the explanatory text that accompanied them was

based on notes prepared by a Mr. Bedwell, at that time librarian of the Middle Temple. The notes tell us that in 1751 Hulton was in Germany as one of the commission for settling the contractors' accounts in the German war. Miss Hulton's letters make it plain that his duty was to prevent frauds and that he had some highly disagreeable experiences. In 1763 he was in London in "Charge of the Officers of his Majesty's Customs in the Plantations," and, according to his sister, his task seemed "to be, after combating wth y^{e} Knaves in G. to find 'em out in America and y^{e} West Indies." On this point Mr. Bedwell's note is instructive: "After the peace of 1763 Parliament naturally turned its attention to the trade of the American colonies which had been the great stake in the war. In the following year an act (4 Geo. III. c 15) was passed which was, according to a portion of the very lengthy title 'for more effectually preventing the clandestine conveyance of goods to and from the said Colonies and Plantations and improving and securing the trade between Great Britain and the same.' It came into force on Michaelmas Day 1764, and the mere perusal of its forty-seven sections is quite sufficient to enable one to appreciate the difficulty of the task which lay before Mr. Hulton. It was not merely that he had to create a 'new establishment' but the foundation upon which he had to build was unsound and justified Miss Hulton's allusions to 'y^{e} Knaves...in America and y^{e} West Indies.'" Late in 1767 he took up his duties as Commissioner of Customs in Boston, and relinquished them

only when the Revolution began. After the Revolution he retired from the public service. Letters of these later years have been preserved. From them we learn that for a time he lived at Wells, from which place on January 13, 1779 he wrote the touching note, announcing his sister's death, that ends this collection of letters. On June 1, 1780, he wrote that he had bought a farm and that, since the farm had only a farm house on it, he had rented a very "good and pleasant house" in Hampshire within four miles of the farm. That house was Blissmore Hall, near Andover. Apparently he spent the rest of his life as a gentleman farmer, busy in his leisure with writing and with the education of his five sons. He was much addicted to his pen, the activity of which seems to have been devoted mainly to moral homilies and to annotations of the Scriptures designed for the edification of his boys. He was an affectionate and solicitous parent. He was not in the best of health. A fall from his horse had injured his back, and in 1788 we find him in Bath for the benefit of the waters. He complained that he was subject to "watchfulness, flurrying, and irritation of the nerves." In his correspondence he dwells much on the vicissitudes of life, on the comforts of religion, the vanity of ambition, and on death. Such was the fashion of the time, but it is hard not to suspect him of a hypochondriacal habit of mind. He was, however, contented in his domestic life, for his wife was affectionate and his sons docile and promising. He died on February 14, 1791, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The letters that his sister Anne wrote from Boston describe for us not only the Hultons' charming home life and its modest social activities but the public events of the day. They were written to Mrs. Adam Lightbody, the wife of a merchant in Liverpool, and a granddaughter of Philip Henry, one of the ministers ejected from their Church of England benefices by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Of Mrs. Lightbody we learn nothing from the letters except that she was an obliging friend, ready to undertake all sorts of troublesome errands, but of Miss Hulton herself we get a clear enough impression. She abounded in sentiment and in piety, to the expression of which her "genteel" eighteenth-century style now gives a somewhat humorous effect, but which were obviously genuine. Her courage never flagged, however trying the circumstances in which she found herself, and her complete devotion to her brother and his family wins the reader's esteem. Her letters have a feminine abundance of detail about housekeeping expenses, and of neighborhood gossip and family happenings. Her comments on the political events of the time, of course, reflect the opinion of the English officials, and are all the more valuable historically on that account.

When in America, Hulton occupied a gambrel-roofed house in Brookline that he bought from Jeremy (Jeremiah?) Gridley, Attorney General for the King, and that was built in 1740 by Nathaniel Gardner. According to Mr. C. K. Bolton (see his *Brookline: a Favored Town*, 1892) it was on Walnut Street at the bend op-

posite the Unitarian Church built in 1893, where it stood until 1885. In the Hultons' time, Brookline had few if any more than six hundred inhabitants and must have had a pleasant rural quality. It is plain from Miss Hulton's letters that the family became greatly attached to its country home.

But the clouds of war were gathering. Even after the ominous riot in King Street in 1770 and the Tea Party in 1773, the Hultons fondly hoped that the old peacefulness would return, but they awoke from that pleasing dream when the disturbances began that culminated in the events of the 19th of April. Anne Hulton and the family sailed for England late in 1775, where Hulton himself joined them early in the following year. The concluding letters, which were written on British soil, are full of allusions to the trials that drove them from Boston.

In an appendix will be found Hulton's Canadian Journal referred to by his sister and also a letter describing the Battle of Bunker Hill that is attributed to him. It is signed H. H. and first appeared in Dr. Ellis's little book on Bunker Hill published by Emmons in Boston in 1843. In 1868 it was reproduced in Dawson's Bunker Hill number of the *American Historical Magazine*. The whereabouts of the original document is unknown, but there is little doubt that Hulton wrote it. Sensitive Americans may, like Dr. Ellis, resent his bitter strictures upon the people of the Province and his harsh characterization of Dr. Warren as "a rascally apothecary." What we have hitherto known of him has

been derived from what he wrote in his wrath. In the light of his sister's letters he appears as a worthy, God-fearing gentleman, and moreover we shall have to admit that he had little cause either to love or to respect the methods and activities of the revolutionary element in Boston. For the comfort of his critics, it may be said that the people he denounced remained supreme and unconquerable in the field of invective. If in Hulton's estimation they were "bandetti" and Warren was a rascal, Hulton himself was classed by the patriots as among those "Ministerial assassins" and "uncircumcised Philistines" who attempted "to ravage the country and defy the armies of the Living God."

H. M.
C. M. T.

LETTERS

LETTERS

I

WILLASTON *Sept^r 4, 1767*

Dear M^rs L. is I imagine in the Country where I hope She enjoys health & pleasure & benefit by her journey to Buxton.

I have many things to tell you, & some very interesting events I must communicate to my Friend.

I rec^d a letter from my Bro^r date Aug 29^th, that Morn^g about 5 oClock my Sister was happily Deliver^d of a fine Boy, She had a severe time, the Midwife attend^d from Thursday till then (Saturd^y) when my Bro^r wrote She was better than coud be expect^d, & proposed to suckle it herself. A few hours after this stranger arrived in this world my Bro^r rec^d a summons from the Treasury to prepare for going to the New World, which is matter of great concern to him, I suppose you have heard of the new commiſsion to be established in America They have appointed my Bro^r to be one of the Commiſsioners even before his Knowledge of it, or acquainting him with it & he says there has been something very extraordinary in the Circumstances of all the employm^ts he has had, as he has been appointed to them all without a particular solicitation

for that Office. In the present Affair they have behaved very genteel to him, he took no measures to be appointd but rather avoidd it. The offer from his Grace the D: of G: to be the first in the Commiſsn was a mark of great Confidence — had he declined accepting this offer, he must have remained at home on his bare salary, & shd never have been taken notice of again by the treasury.

There are some circumstances (he says) in the alteration that will tend to soften the change of Situation & as Providence orders his Lot he chearfully acquiesces

But he must go immediately aſsoon as the Commfsn has paſsed the great Seal, it will be a great embarraſsmt to him, He can not poſsibly remove his Family & Effects, Therefore he will endeavour to get Leave to stay till Spring. Tho the Treasry are bent on a speedy Establishmt of the Comfsn

Now you must Know that my Brors & Sistr it seems are desirous for me to accompany them, he says I may be sure it wod make them very happy, & that he shall be in such a situation as to give me every advantage that the place & society can yeild, & for my comfort we shall not be exposed to such a corruptn of manners, as in London, for the Presbyterians have the Majority at Boston. I shall let the Commiſsrs know that his Sister if she goes does not intend to set up for a fine Lady, but for somthing more uncomn a Merchant — a Character however in whch She thinks She can act with greater propriety & advantage, as well as satisfaction to herself. some usefull employment as Traffick or cultivatg

a small Plantation in the Country will be most agreeable to my genius & inclinat^{n} & best for health, whatever scheme I pursue I shall submit to his judgement & direction, & shall beware of any partnership, have seen enough of that. I have continued here a great deal longer than I intended, but this house not being set, & my Bro^{r} having none in the Country this Summer, & I find riding about & going to Parkgate to Bathe, very conducive to my health, my Bro^{r} therefore encouraged me to stay a while longer — besides there has been a great many rep^{rs} neceſsary here, which the Tenant was desirous to have done whilst I was here. The Bearer of this goes to M^{r} Carle to get some Deal Balk for repair^{g} our Barn. I hope to leave here the latter end of next week or the week after, & to be in London by the 20th of this month — My Bro^{rs} Wedding Day, perhaps I may take another Dip or two the next Spring, & I dont know but Miss J: will come here & spind a day at Parkgate if I dont go up before, & the Weather be good.

I've gone often to Chester & Parkgate where I met many of my acquaintance, & it has been very agreeable

I understand D^{r} P: is likely to fix at Manches^{r} I was at Chester last saturday, & believe shall go next there, was very glad to find M^{r} C. so much better

It is a mysterious part of the Providence of God, when he permits his Servants to be incapcipated for usefulneſs, & to labour under languishing affliction, & severe Tryals, when he c^{d} ease em with a word. But

surely it is that they may have the more experience of his Faithfulneſs, & Goodneſs, & he of their Obedience, & Love, That they may know the Loving kindneſs, the care, & Wisdom, of that God, that Pilots their Ship, when it is cover^{d} with Storms & Waves, & that they may be encouraged more and more to Trust Him, who can Deliver when all the help of Man is vain. I reflect with pleasing Admirat^{n} & Gratitude on the Dealings of Providence, even the Afflictive dispensations, when he hath placed me amongst strangers & in such circumstances that I stood most in need of the kind aids & sooth^{g} voice of Friendship, when I seemed destitute & sinking into the Grave, A Gracious God appear^{d} for my relief, & wrought out deliverance for me tho unworthy & distrustfull. It is impoſsible for those who do not feel what a sufferer feels to know, how in circumstances of Distreſs, even neglect wounds, & how doubly grateful & endear^{g} consolatory, & supporting, at such a season, is the officious kindneſs of a friend.

I look to the highest cause, acknowledge & adore the Sovereign Hand that hath mingled some bitter ingredients in my portion to quicken my relish for the bleſsings of life, & perhaps prepare me for a more prosperous Scene, or however no doubt, to teach Me a more entire dependance upon & resignation to him under all Events. O, may I learn duty to improve present mercies, & maintain an habitual, humble, resign^{d} & grateful frame, That I may not be taught the value of my enjoyments by a deprivation of them. Several circumstances have concurr^{d} to weaken my attachment to

England, Tho I have many friends here in whose happineſs I must still be interested, & shall take my leave with an heavy heart, if I do not indulge a secret hope of revisit^{g} my native country, But if Providence does not permit us to meet again in this world, I trust in some happier Region we shall, & with Transport & glowing Gratitude, review, & recount, Those Steps, & that Dicipline, by which our heavenly Father has led us to, & prepared us for, a State of perfection & happineſs, That this may be, tho at some distant Period, that you may long enjoy the present Scene & an increasing felicity in your family, is the ardent Wish & Prayer of D^{r} Y^{rs} A H—My Comp^{s} to all fr^{ds} I've rec'd several Obliging letters from M^{rs} W, & am ashamed not to have answer^{d} her last so long agoe, but I believe it w^{d} be as easy to keep up a correspondence from N^{o} America as this Place, Op^{o} [opportunities] so rarely happen immediately from hence, besides one does not know always w^{n} they go. I. H. is not set sail yet, it will be strange if my Bro^{r} sh^{d} go to America before him. I dont know what detains the former. The Bride & Groom M^{r} & M^{rs} Wrench were engaged to Dine at my Bro^{rs} the Day my Sister was taken ill, & so my Bro was obliged to excuse himself from recieving them on that Acc^{t}, he did not know M^{r} W. till they called on him, before then he wonder^{d} we sh^{d} be surprized at his geting a Wife w^{n} he had so much money — let him be what he w^{d}, yet if he came up to Lond^{n} with £40,000 he wd find 500 ready to have him. in his next Letter he s^{d} he did not think above 250 even there, but everyone to their taste.

LONDON *Decr 17*

..... To Day we have the pleasure to receive two Letters from my Bror of the 5th & 15 Novr giving an Acct of his Voyage & safe Arrival, at Boston, a pretty good Voyage of six weeks, he was sick half the time, as for I: Hincks he never was ill but eat & drank all the way. Our next Attention is to what reception the Commiſsrs met with many people think they will meet with difficulties having Turbulent Folks to deal with, my Bror is pretty well known there & in the W. Indies, by his late employment & we hope from what we have heard that they are rather prejudiced in his favor, tho his present Commisn will not help to recommend.

He says they happend unluckily to arrive on the most riotous day in the year, the 5th Novr believes the Mob carried twenty Devils, Popes, & Pretenders, thro the Streets, with Labels on their breasts, Liberty & Property & no Commiſsioners, he laughed at em with the rest. by the last Letter all was very quiet.

We had a Note from Mrs Rogers yesterdy One of her little Boys, was recovering of a Fever, Mrs W. was very ill, & almost all the Servants ill too. Mr R: they say died worth 60,000 which he bequeathd to Mr R.

Miss Newton is gone over to Venice with Lady Wright.....

Yr Affectnt frd A H.

III

London *Febʳʸ 15. 1768*

The Recᵗ of Dear Mʳˢ L. favor gave Me great pleasure, was glad to find your family was well — wish Mʳ & Mʳˢ R L joy of their Son — My Sister & I are as happy as we can be in our absense from my Broʳ & as busy as we can be in preparing to go to him. We shall embark I believe sooner than we thought of, for there is but one Veſsel appointed fit for us to Sail in, its callᵈ the Boscowen, Captⁿ Jacobson, The Merchᵗ are so obliging to give my Sister the choice of her Company in the Cabbin, there being many persons desirous to go in the same Ship

The company fixed on are the Collector of Bahama his Lady & young Child, who have made the Voyage before & therefore have experience & will know how to bear the squalling of Brats. My little Nephew was inoculated in the height of the fashion in the Cool way. My Sister I believe wou'ᵈ never innoc: one so young again, as its distreſsing not to know their complaints when they are so very ill. She had a wet Nurse tho as much averse to it as you are, & her prejudice against them is far from being removed, it was neceſsity obliged her to it, & great importunity from us all prevailed on her, for the Life of the Infant seemᵈ to depend upon it. The Error was in the month, Nurse not putᵍ it to suck of so long a time, till it couᵈ not, it did very well for a week by feeding, & then declinᵈ till it

was just expiring, but soon recruit^{d} at the Breast & is now a fine Boy. I hope M^{rs} A^{s} are got safe thro innoculation.

I was much Surprized to hear by yours of the Death of Miss N: Bent, M^{rs} K. & Miss T: spent the even^{g} with Us not long agoe & we supp^{d} with them last night but one,

It was indeed very providential I H^{ss} not going to Florida, tho his Stay here did not seem to be the effect of prudence, yet I hope it will prove for the best. The Commiſs^{rs} have appoint^{d} him Clerk of the Minnets, wh^{ch} they say is the best place in the disposal of the Board.

The Commiſs^{rs} began an Aſsembly at Boston in order to wear off the prejudice of the people & to cultivate their Acquaintance. There were about 100 at the first Opening of it, & my Bro^{r} had the honor of dancing, the first Minnuet. I H. made no small figure at it, & is very easy & happy with them all, but the Misfortune is there are no fortunes there.

Our Estate at W: is to be sold at L. the 10th of Next Month as you'll see Advertised, M^{r} E: writes me that my being present is not neceſsary & I shall willingly be excused Croſsing the Water this time of the Year, but intend being at Chester in a fortnights time.

IV

Castle William Boston Harbor
June 30. 1768

Dr Madam

I presume it will be agreeable to you to hear that my Brors Family had a good Voyage of 5 Weeks & arrived all well at Boston the 5th Inst. You will be surprized to hear how we were obliged to fly from the Place in six Days after & take Refuge on board the Romney Man of War lying in Boston Harbour. Mrs Burch at whose house I was, had frequently been alarmd with the Sons of Liberty surrounds her house with most hideous howlings as the Indians, when they attack an Enemy, to many insults & outrages She had been exposed since her arrival, & threatend with greater voilences. She had had removed her most valuable Effects & held herself in readineſs to depart at an hours notice. The Occasion soon happend, when my Sister & I accompanyd her at 10 oClock at night to a Neighbours house, not apprehends much danger, but we soon found that the Mobs here are very different from those in O England where a few lights put into the Windows will pacify, or the interposition of a Magistrate restrain them, but here they act from principle & under Countenance, no person daring or willing to suppreſs their Outrages, or to punish the most notorious Offenders for any Crimes whatever, These Sons of Voilence after attacking Houses, breaks Window, beating, Stoning & bruizing

several Gentlemen belong^{g} to the Customs, the Collector mortally, & burning his boat, They consult^{d} what was to be done next, & it was agreed to retire for the night, All was ended wth a Speech from one of the Leaders, conclud^{g} thus, "We will defend our Liberties & property, by the Strength of our Arm & the help of our God, to your Tents O Israel." This is a Specimen of the Sons of Liberty, of whom no doubt you have heard, & will hear more.

The next Day the Commiſs^{rs} had sufficient notice of their danger & the Plots against them, All their friends Advised em to retire to a more secure place, The Governor particularly telling em it was not in his power to protect em.

That Even^{g} Saturd^{y} We set off in a Barge under a Convoy of Man of Wars Boats, wth Marines, their bayonets fixed, to the Romney, a fifty Gun Ship of War, lying ready in the Harbour. About fifty of us Refugees, were well accommodated, & very genteelly entertain^{d} there for nine Days, The Capt^{ns} Lady being on board. On the 21st Ins^{t} We removed to this Castle, by the Governors permiſsion. This was a Scene you will beleive quite new to me, & indeed the series of events since leaving O England appears romantic

I must own I have been ashamed of the Presbyterians but have the satisfaction to hear they are very different, these being Oliverian Independants.

From the inherent Republican, & levelling principles, heres no subordination in the Society. Government is extirpated, & it is quite a State of Anarchy.

There are some sensible & good people that are greatly alarmed at their impend^{g} fate, — The infant Colonies have been advanc^{g} toward a State of Independancy. Many things have concurr^{d} to bring on the Crisis sooner than expected. The Sedition has been falsely represent^{d} at home as a dying Faction — but the defection is too general most of the other Provinces are only waiting to see the event of this effort in Boston. The poison of disaffection has been infused & spread by inflamatory writers over the Continent. L^{d} Camden & L^{d} Chatham's Speechs on the Repeal of the stamp Act, has open'd to them a new view of their priviledges, & I dare say they are enroll^{d} in their Records, as sacred as their Charters, from this Authority, the Authority & power of the British Parliam^{t} to tax them is openly denied. To this purpose the Aſsembly here sent a Petition to His Majesty w^{ch} it was tho^{t} proper at home not to present.

The Credulity of the Common people here is imposed on by a number of Lies raised to irritate & inflame them. They believe that the Commiſs^{rs} have an unlimited power given to tax even their Lands, & that its in order to raise a Revenue, for support^{g} a Number of Bishops that are coming over &c they are inspired with an enthusiastic Rage for defend^{g} their Religion & liberties. every Officer of the Crown that does his duty is become obnoxious, & they must either fly or be sacrificed, the Attacks were always in the dark, several hundreds against one Man, & theres great Reason to believe that the Lives of some in particular was aim^{d} at,

— As to my Bro^{r} & M^{r} Burch we often hear that its generally said They have no personal peak to them. As Gentlemen they w^{d} treat em with great Civility, but as Commiſs^{rs} most dreadful threatnings are denounced against all. They are prohibit^{d} setting foot on Shore again at their peril, & in case any of them does, the Sexton of each Church has orders to give Notice by tolling a Bell, when all the Bells are to ring as for Fire to alarm the Inhabitants & raise the Mob to tear em to pieces. They likewise threaten to drive Us hence saying this Castle belongs to the province & not to the King, But have not yet taken this step to an Open Rebellion tho from good intelligence we know they have been plotting to surprize us in the Night. Sh^{d} they make this desperate attempt, they might masacre Us but their Escape w^{d} be impoſsible, for the Man of War, this is all our security at present

However hard the fate of us fugitives may seem we must acknowledge there are many favorable circumstances attending. It is happy for Us that our flight was in the Summer, for this Island they say w^{d} not be habitable for Us in the Winter. Tho it now appears delightful & a most Agreeable Summer Retreat I am Y^{r} Affect A H

V

Castle William *July 12. 1768*

This incloses my letter of the 30th past (intend^{g} to be sent by a Ship bound for Liverp^{l}) which informs you of

our critical Situation in which we are likely to remain some time till Government is restored & its Servants support^{d}. The buſineſs of the Commiſs^{n} in the mean time carried on here, my Bro^{r} has had a vast deal on his hands ever since he came Out. We found him just recover^{g} of a fever caught by Lodging in an unair^{d} Bed in a House he had taken about 4 Miles from Boston in the Country (its about 2 Miles off Us here besides one Mile by Water) of no use to us now tho half of the Furniture is brought there, & there's a Negro Servant employ^{d} in the Garden, M^{r} Burchs's & my Bro^{r} Families have Apartments here in the Citadel which are rather elegant than Commodious, Two of the Commiſs^{rs} besides are of our Meſs, but dont Lodge here, One of em goes every Night to the Romney & the other Lodges in the Barracks, The Clerks all Lodge in the Barracks, & make seperate families, The fifth Commiſs^{r} M^{r} T: is connect^{d} with the Town in every respect, He does not Asociate wth us tho he Lodge here to save appearances.

This is our Situation, & you are not to imagine us tho in a state of banishment, secluded from Society or the rest of the World it is rather like one of the Publick water drinking places in England, We have a great many Visitors comes every Day from Boston incog, & are seldom leſs than twenty at dinner. We live luxuriously tho I dont find provisions so cheap as I expected, but I believe We Government people pay dearer, The increase of our Naval Force has added to the gaiety of the place. The task aſsign^{d} me, steward of

the Household, & Mistreſs of the Ceremony of the Tea table Morn^{g} & Even^{g} is no little buſineſs I aſsure you. This fine Climate agrees well with us all & every body seems much happier in their exiled state than on the Land of Liberty. M^{rs} B: is a well bred agreeable woman She says surely there never was a number of persons jumbled together so agreeable to each other, & I hope she will have more rest now we are better guard^{d}, for she seldom went to bed before 3 oClock in the Morn^{g} for watching the Enemy.

The Sons of Liberty within these ten Days several unexpected strokes of [1] their
The Disolution of the General
in consequence of D^{r} Hilsbrough
to the Governor on their refusal
Resolutions of the Last House
the Forces from the back Settlements
Towns, leaving open to the Indians — & of Ships & Sloopes of War arriv^{d} here from Jamaica We have now no leſs than five Station^{d} round this Island as our Guard. The Commodore has shown great Attention to the Service, & sends word if they are not enough he will come himself, but we are now sufficiently guard^{d} having each a Ship near our Window, however another Ship...Capt^{n} Corner has made a discovery that this harbour will admit of a many Ships of the Line, This was unknown to Government before, Its report^{d} that a Regiment of Soldiers is on the way from New York to

[1] A piece of the letter is here torn away. Other blanks left in the following pages indicate a like mishap.

Boston. The seventeen Members that Voted for Recinding are now persecuted as much as the Commiſsrs & worse being more in their power. Dr M Yr Affect Fd A H

Gov: Bernard has just now drank tea here wth Us His Excel: says, two more such years as the past & the Brit: Empire is at an End.

VI

Boston *April 10, 1769*

I had the pleasure to receive Dr Mrs Ls Kind favor. was truly concernd for your Affliction, which I had heard of before, doubt not you bore it with yr usual patience & resignation, & trust you still experience the care & goodneſs of God all sufficient; I hope domestick happineſs has succeeded to the afflictive Scenes in yours & Mr Ns families.

We have resided quietly here since Novr, & I hope we shall be in no more dangers or alarms from lawleſs Mobs, yet its uncertain what may be on the first execution of the spirited resolves of Parliamt, however salutary the effects will be to the Establishmt of Governmt, & the good of the Colonies, but it is certain that our safety & quiet depends on the Army & Navy being here, & that Opposition will be vain when G. Britain is resolved.

They have no other way now but scurrilous abuse,

which constantly employs, some wicked Low genius. Governmt its Friends, & Servants, are the Objects. indeed Mr B. & my Bror are most favorably treated of any of the four Commiſsrs as its said they came here Strangers to the Country, but against those in Office who are Americans the inveteracy is inconceivable, as acting against their Country they say is an Aggravation; The Gentlemen of the Army share in the Abuse, the Commandg Officer Genl Pomery is an amiable worthy Man, & takes great care that his men shall give no real Offense

This is a very large Town, I have not seen half of it yet, it is joind to the Continent by a small neck of Land, so there's but that one way out of the Town by Land. You will suppose our Acquaintce is not very general, nor do we wish it to be, we have enow, for we have been much engaged ever since we came from the Castle, in receivg & paying Visits to diferent Persons, most of the better sort of People that we've conversd with seem sensible of the great want of a reform, or alteration in the Constitution of Government here, for certainly the Tyranny of the Multitude is the most Arbitrary & oppreſsive; there's no justice to be obaind in any case, & many Persons awed by the people, are obliged to court Popularity for their own Security, this is only to be done by opposing Governmt at home. If the People took a dislike to any One, they would make nothing of pulling down their houses, Several persons were threatend with this for no other reason than Visiting Us at the Castle, & it woud certainly have been

done, with a deal more mischief, had not the Troops, arrived seasonably for our Protection, as well as that of every person of property, Yet there are very few to be met with that will allow the right of taxation to the British Parliament, therefore we avoid politicks.

We are in Lodgings for there was never a House to be had for a Commiſsr when we returnd to Boston, & this occasiond my Bror to purchase one, in order to secure a dwelling Place, it is in the Country five Miles off in an agreeable Situation has some Land to it, he intends Keeping a Cow, & to reside there all Year if it be practicable but the Winters are very severe here, it is a more unequal Climate than Old England, the extreams of heat & Cold very great, & the changes from one to the other Sudden, frequently on the change of the Wind, yet the Climate agrees with Us.

Here is a very good Aſsembly set up since we came, the best there is in all America they say, about sixty couple dance every night once a fortnight tho another called the Liberty Aſsembly is set up in Opposition besides these there is a Concert every other week. I am limitd by my paper. give me leave to hint that it will be a good Opo to enclose a few Lines in the parcel to let me know how you & your family & friends do it is to come by a Veſsel to sail from Londn in Augt My Bror & Sisr join in Resp to you Mr L & all frds Yrs Affectly

A. H.

VII

Near Boston *May 29, 70*

Whilst I am waiting for an Op^o to write to Dear M^rs L. by some ship for Liverp^l I rec^d her agreeable Letter, was made happy about X^tmas by your former one dated Sept^r.

I thought your candid disposition w^d make favorable allowance for a delay in writing, & your late favor convinces me of it. I hoped to be able to give you a more favorable Account of Affairs in America, & our situation, than has been in my power for sometime past, & there is more risque in giving a true Account of Matters & Events, than ones friends in England can easily imagine. I believe my Bro^r has wrote lately to M^r N: you will probably hear from him all the News from hence, better than I can relate & I wou^d chuse more pleasing Subjects. It indeed gives me pleasure to hear of your happineſs in your little Family, & the pleasing prospects from hence, It w^d be matter of great Joy to me to hear of the Addition of a Son, that the many trials of your patience & resignation may be more amply reward^d in this Life, in the future I've no doubt they will & I have only to wish in regard to futurity that I may share in your bliſs, tho We are widely seperated at present, & our trials may be very different in kind, yet such as the alwise Disposer knows to be best for each of Us.

What pleasure w^d it be if I cou'd but now & then see

some of my old friends, & have a little converse with them, methinks it wou'd diſscipate every care & alleviate every trouble, but this is not a State to enjoy all we wish for, if we have any Supports there is reason for thankfulneſs, I enjoy health & have a good Bror for whose safety indeed I am more anxious than for my own, but I trust that Kind Providence which has preserved, will still protect Us. My Bror lives on a Spot of Earth which he calls his own, & a lone House so retired that not one person in 50 in Boston ever saw it before, yet the Situation so agreeable to Mr & Mrs H: that they wd not chuse to change it for any other Spot in New England, & we have found no want of Company, for we have been near 20 of family for some time till today Now eight of them have left besides my Bror & Sistr who are just set of for Rhode Island to return in 10 Days time when I immediately set down to write to my friend, my only Companion left being my Nephew Tom, who interrupts Me not a little with his prating & playing, I ask him what he will have to Miss L: whether he wont send Love, he says, no, but she'll not take it amiſs as She may be aſsured, it is because he does not know her, or he wd be exceeding fond of her, I'm certain. he is a fine lively boy, & a sweet disposition. Harry is very stout walks alone. I am Dr Madm Yr Affectnt A Hulton

It is about Seven weeks ago that I did myself the pleasure of writing to Dr Mrs Lightbody, since that, you will have heard my Bror has been driven from his own Habitation & afterwds retired wth his Family to this place for safety. I have often thought of what you said that, surely we did not live in a lone House, it's true we have long been in a dangerous situation, from the State of Goverment. The want of protection, the perversion of the Laws, & the spirit of the People, inflamed by designing men. Yet our house in the Country has been a place of retreat for many, from the disturbances of the Town, & tho' they were become very alarming, yet we did not apprehend an immediate attack on our House, or that a Mob out of Boston sho'd come so far, before we had notice of it, & were fully perswd there are Persons more obnoxious than my Bror, that he had no personal Enemy, & confident of the good will of our Neighbours (in the Township we live in) towds him so that we had no suspicion of what happend the night of June the 19th —we have reason to believe it was not the sudden outrage of a frantic Mob, but a Plot artfully contrived to decoy My Bror into the hands of aſsaſsins, at Midnight when the Family was asleep, had not a merciful Providence preventd their designs, we had been a distreſsd Family indeed.

Between 12 & 1 o'Clock he was wake'd by a knocking at the Door, he got up, enquired the person's name



CASTLE WILLIAM

From an engraving in J. F. W. Des Barres' "The Atlantic Neptune," Volume II, Part 2 (London, 1780); by courtesy of the Boston Athenæum

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and busineſs, who said he had a letter to deliver to him, w^ch^ came Expreſs from New York. My Bro^r^ puts on his Cloaths, takes his drawn Sword in one hand, & open'd the Parlor window w^th^ the other. The Man ask'd for a Lodging — said he, I'll not open my door, but give me the letter. The man then put his hand, attempting to push up the window, upon w^ch^ my Bro^r^ hastily clap'd it down, instantly w^th^ a bludgeon several violent blows were struck w^ch^ broke the Sash, Glaſs & frame to pieces. The first blow aimed at my Bro^r^ Head, he Providentialy escaped, by its resting on the middle frame, being double, at same time (tho' before then, no noise or appearance of more Persons than one) the lower windows, all round the House (excepting two) were broke in like manner. My Bro^r^ stood in amazement for a Min^t^ or 2, & having no doubt that a number of Men had broke in on several sides of the House, he retired Upstairs.

You will believe the whole Family was soon alarm'd, but the horrible Noises from without, & the terrible shrieks within the House from Mrs. H: & Servants w^ch^ struck my Ears on awaking, I can't describe, & shall never forget.

I cou'd imagine nothing less than that the House was beating down, after many violent blows on the Walls & windows, most hideous Shouting, dreadful imprecations, & threats ensued. Struck with terror & astonishment, what to do I knew not, but got on some Cloaths, & went to M^rs^. H: room, where I found the Family collected, a Stone thrown in at her window

narrowly miſs[d] her head. When the Ruffians were retreating with loud huzza's & one cry'd he will fire, — no says another, he darn't fire, we will come again says a third — M[r] and M[rs] H: left their House immediately & have not lodged a night since in it.

The next day we were looking up all the Pockit Pistols in the house some of w[ch] were put by, that nobody coud find 'em & ignorant of any being charged, Kitty was very near shooting her Miſstreſs, inadvertently lets it off. the bullets miſs'd her within an inch & fixd in a Chest of Drawers. here was another miraculous escape, so that we have reason to be thankful, we are all safe & well, tho' truly Prisoners in a Castle, the old place of refuge.

But there is no security from the virulence of Lying Tongues, can you believe it, that a person shall suffer abuse, an attack upon his House, & attempt on his Life, & afterw[ds] the reproach of having done it himself. This is really the case, the persons who are so vile as to be at the bottom of the Mischeif, have in order to remove the odium from themselves, & the Town, industr'ously spread this report, that M[r] H: hired people to break his own Windows, for an excuse of his removal to the Castle, & to ruin this Country.

However ridiculous this Aspersion, yet it is believ'd or seemingly believed by one half of the people, as we are told, but the more sensible & moderate are ashamed of the absurdity, & freely say, that this outrage against M[r] H: will hurt their Country more than anything w[ch] has been done yet. And for the honour of the

Township we lived in, I must say, the principal People, have of their own accord, taken up the affair very warmly, exerting their endeavors to find out the Authors, or perpetrators of the Villainy. They have produced above twenty witneſses, Men in the Neighborhood who were out a Fishing that night, that prove they met upon the Road from Boston towds my Bros House, Parties of Men that appeard disguised, their faces blacked, with white Night caps, & white Stockens on, one of 'em with Ruffles on & all with great clubs in their hands. They did not know any of 'em, but one Fisherman spoke to 'em, to be satisfied whether they were Negroes or no, & found by their Speech they were not, & they answered him very insolently, another person who mett them declares, that one of 'em askd him the way to Mr Hs house, & another of 'em said he knew the way very well. After all, you may judge how much any further discovery is likely to be made, or justice to be obtained in this Country, when I tell you that the persons who were thus active to bring the dark deed to light, were immediately stop'd & silenced, being given to understand (as I'm well informd) that if they made any further stir about the matter, they might expect to be treated in the same manner as Mr H: was — However so much is proved as to clear Mr H: from the charge of doing himself the mischief one wod think.

This instance shews the State this Country is in, it is not the case of one, but of every faithful Officer & Loyal Subject here that is; to suffer abuse persecution calumny & reproach & if they seek redreſs or any per-

son attempts to do them Justice, it is not to be expected, but threats of greater evils.

What Governm^{t} intends doing to remedy these, We are yet strangers, or whether anything effectual will be done. here's a report that the Board is to be removed to the Jerseys. that place woud be as agreable as any part of America to us, but whether the Board be removed, calld home, or abolishd, we have reason to hope my Bro^{s} interest will not be prejudiced.

If G: Britain leaves Boston to itself, tho' its own honour will not be maintaind thereby, it will certainly be the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on the place and people, but a cruelty to some individuals, who have shewn themselves fr^{ds} to Governm^{t}. The Town is now in the greatest confusion, the People quarreling violently about Importation, & Exportation.

The New Yorkers having broke thro' their nonimportation agreem^{t}, is a heavy Stroke, & tho' 90 out a 100 of the Merc^{ts} & traders here, want to do the same, yet they are terrified to submit to [the] Tyranny of that Power they at first set up, & are going to reship their British Goods, tho' its expected there will be some broken Noses first, & that these combinations cannot hold long. However the Trade of the Town is ruin'd, & the principal Branch that of Ship Building, w^{ch} supported some hundred of Families, is removed by the Glassgow Merc^{ts} to other places, because their Goods were not allowd to be [disposed] of here: — and in return, the Town or Leaders of the

resolved to banish all the Scotchmen from the [Place] & began w^th^ one M^c^Masters, an honest industrious Tradsman, who had 3 or 4000£ Sterl^g^ in Effects, & more in outstand^g^ debts here. Without any preten[sions but] that he was an Importer. They gave him warning [to] Quit the Town within 3 days, or he must take the consequences (w^ch^ means Taring & Feathering) a most cruel violence, w^th^ w^ch^ they intimidate & force everyone to submit to their dem^ds^ The poor Man not comply^g^ they [seized] him at noon day, put him into a Cart, exhibited him thro the Town, & were going to Tar & F: him, but that they forced an Oath from him, that he wod leave the place, and now he & his Bro^r^ [are] ruind men & forlorn Wanderers upon this Island, lost [his] property & [l]ost his [senses]

I've wrote more freely to you than I sho'd have done; but as I have that confidence in my friend that my letter will not be exposed. I wo^d^ not have my name or my Bro^s^ mentioned in a Sea Port Town as sending any news from hence, you may not know, tho' I do the risque of [it] therefore I gi[ve you] the hint. My Respects to M^r^ L.

I (am de)[ar Mad^m^ Your Affec^t^] A. H.

Castle Island, near Boston
July 25. 1770.

Dear M^rs^ Lightbodys kind favor gives me great pleas^r^ tho' rec'd three months after the date. it affords me some satisfaction to know that you & y^r^ family was well then, (for its many months since I heard anything from O: England) it bring to remembrance former times & the agreable hours I spent with you.

I am much obliged to you for the kind concern you expreſs for us, in this hostile Land, & our late situation in it.

I bleſs God I can say, that after many changes, dangers & trials in Life, I now enjoy health, & ease, peace, & plenty, & that my Bro^r^ with his Family are quietly reinstated, in his beloved Habitation, after near five Months Exile at the Castle, its Six weeks since we return'd here. We find the face of things exceedingly changed indeed. To be exposed to the rage of a frantic mob, or subject to alarms & fears, is a dreadful situation, especialy where there's no Governm^t^ or Law, But upon the appearance (or some steps tow^ds^ Establis^g^) of these supports of Society, & protecting of Individuals, The desperate Invaders, & abettors of the disturbances disapear. Peace & Order takes place, & the past Scenes of confusion & disorder, appears as a dream.

We never thought ourselves more safe from the Sons of Violence, than at present. Yet our Security and the continuance of it, under a kind Providence depends on Circumstances, Chiefly the Authority & Support of Govern^mt^ From thence the Impartial Trial & honorable

acquital of Capt: Preston & the Soldiers, has the most happy Effect, it has exposd the Conduct of the Faction, and opend the Eyes of the People in general, convinced them that they have been deceived by false opinions, & false representations of Facts. It has ascertained the right of Self defence, w^ch^ they were taught to beleive was illegal without the aid of a civil Majistrate. These Trials together with that of the Custom House Officers, charged with Firing out of the C: H: & the Suborning of false Witneſses against them w^ch^ appear^d^ on the Trial, and the witneſs since commited for Perjury.

These things have laid open a Scene of Iniquity that the greatest Advocates are now ashamed of the Cause, & most persons wish to be thought friends to that Governm^t^ w^ch^ appears determined to punish, & reward, accord^g^ to deserts.

Many persons have told us that we shall never recieve any more insults or attacks here, for the man (say they) is gone that sent out the Aſsaſsins to M^r^ H.

There's great reason to believe their design was upon his Life. I hope he will never have occaſsion to defend himself or his House, yet we are provided against the worst w^th^ Fire Arms — a great Dog & a Bell at the top of the House; to give Notice to the Neighborhood in case of neceſsity. We have no doubt of the good disposition of People in the Country tow^ds^ my Bro^r^ from the abhorence they in general shew'd at the former outrage, & their endeavors to find out the Authors, as well as the solicitude they expreſsed for our return home,

and offers to Watch & guard our House, by nights in their turns, if we were under any Apprehensions, But that we are not at present. far from insu[lt or] abuse, we have met with every civility & respect posible, both in Town & Country, from all sorts of people.

Our acquaintance increases to more than we can well keep up in a visiting way, every one seems desirous to make our Situation agreable to us, & to banish the prejudices we may have receivd against it.

It's not a little that will destroy the partiality of M^r & M^rs H: for their rural retreat, a short banishment serves to heighten their enjoyment [of] it, even in the depth of winter, two fine Boys adds to their happines, and afford constant entertainment to their Aunt, by thier innocent prattle, they have the Countenances of Cherubs, and Constitutions for Farmers, Strong & hearty.

My paper allows no more than to asure you your Fr^ds here joyn in wishing you every happines they enjoy

My best respects to M^r Lightbody & your Sisters — Miss H: & Mrs. R: L: — I. Hincks is here now, engaged at Cards well & Easy as [usual] knows not how many Neices or nephews he has, [whether] 5 or five & twenty. I am

D^r Mad^m Y^r Affect^t A. H:

Brooklyne near Boston
Dec^r 21. 1770.

I take the opportunity of a Ship bound immediately for Liverpool to acknowledg the rec^{t} of Dear M^{rs} Lightbodys agreable favor, of 30th Nov^{r} & the Packet, (w^{ch} never Comes in lefs than three months) And to aſsure her that it gives me sincere pleasure, to hear of her & her Familys welfare, & of your enjoying pleasure in little rambles abroad, here we reckon a few hundred Miles but a little way, where everything in Nature is upon a large Scale.

I am obliged to you for your intelligence in regard to persons & affairs in or about Liverp^{l}

Poor Ned: Hincks case gives me great concern, I heard of it from my Aunt, & wrote to her in January. Am afraid by yours, there was but little hopes of his recovery, it must prove indeed a severe Trial, if she sho'd Lose so good a son. I: H: is well, we see him here, pretty often, I doubt he does not yield that comfort to his Mother that he might do, in writing more frequent.

I don't know that he is concern'd in any buſineſs at present, besides that of his office under the Commiſs^{rs} of the Customs, it is the best place in their Gift, that may not be superceded by the Treasury, yet there are some infelicities attending it, To serve a number of Masters, who are not all disposed, as my Bro^{r} is, to make those under them happy. He receives £80 a year Salary & £20 a year from my Bro^{r} w^{ch} makes it £100 Sterl^{g} This seems a pretty income for a young Man, Yet it wou'd not do for one to settle upon in this

Country, and I doubt not He wou'd gladly remove from Boston, if anything offerd, else where, more for his advantage. I have heard my Bro^{r} often say, that when he put him into this office, it was not that he tho^{t} it an advantagious Establishment for him, his only motive was, to remove him from the dangerous situation he was in, in London, without employment, & that he thought som'thing certain for him, woud be better than pursuing uncertain schemes.

You have heard perhaps of another American being born in our family, a Edward Hulton, he is now five months old, a fine lively boy, but all my three Nephews are ill at this time of the hooping Cough.

A melancholy affair has happened lately here, w^{ch} affects us much, & thrown several Families we are acquainted with into deep distreſs — M^{r} & M^{rs} John Apthrop [Apthorp], who lived in our Neighborhood, at Cambridge, having a handsome independant fortune, lived in a very genteel way, & made the greatest figure of any Gentlem^{n} in the Provence (he had lived sometime in England & in Italy) but set down at last in his own Country, where he married his second wife, a very handsome & amiable young Lady, had two Girls by her. He seemd to have everything this world coud give, excepting a Son, this was his ardent wish, w^{ch} Heaven granted about 12 M^{os} ago. (Gov^{r} Hutchinson & my Bro^{r} were Sponsors) Som'thing still was wanting for happineſs. M^{r} A: to vary the Scene, & escape a Winter, resolved to viſsit the Southern Provences. M^{rs} A: an obliging wife attends him, tho' as a tender

Mother, she quits her dear little family with the greatest reluctance, they both took leave of us in Octo^r last & about the middle of Nov^r they embarked from New York for N^o Carolina, w^ch is a few days paſsage. But alaſs! They have never been heard of since, tho' it's four months ago, we have hoped the Veſsil might have been drove to some of the West India Islands, but by this time, there's too much reason to fear, that the veſsil was lost at Sea. Violent Storms arose a few days after it saild. M^rs A: Father & mother are in the utmost Affliction, three Infants are left without a Parent, & many aggravating circumstances besides.

I fancy the Spring is opening upon you in O: England whilst we are surrounded with a deep Snow & freezing with severe cold, a long & sharp winter we shall have, & perhaps, towards May or June suddenly emmerge from the depth of it, into the height of Summer, without the pleasure of a Spring, or but a short one. Yet here are pleasures which even this frozen state, & sequesterd Situation affords, for there are few days but what we might make excursions in Sleighs (carriages w^thout wheels that travel extreamly quick 10 or 12 Miles an hour,) while Nature Smiles in a bright Sky, & a white world around us, we don't in the least envy the inhabitants of the Town, finding here no want of Society as you may think, when M^rs H: had near 50 Ladies from Boston &c to viſsit her in her Lying in. We are Farmers without expecting to reap any proffit, besides that of health & pleasure, I believe it's very conducive to my Bro^rs Health being obliged to ride to

Town frequently, & the relaxation & amusement w^ch his little Farm affords. He has made great improvements, & built Barns, Stables, and many conveniences, amongst the rest a Green house, in order to preserve Vegetables in the Winter, & raise early plants so that we may be supplied all the year round. Tho' this appears quite a necessary, & is generaly approved as a great convenience, yet it's what has not been done before in this Province. I have studied Gardening here, & by my observation, & experience, have acquired a little Skill, so that I am Director General of the Vegatible Tribe, tho' our Farmer is a good common Gardener, yet many things we require, w^ch are not used to be raised here. We put in the Green house last fall 500 heads of the finest Celery that ever was seen here. I have never seen a Artichoke or Broccoli in this Country, but shall attempt to raise these now. It is strange what little improvements are made in Gardening here, I mean for the Table, as to fine Gardens, there's no such thing attempted, by any Gentleman, for besides the Severe Frosts destroying everything, Labour hire is so dear, it wo'd require a Nabobs fortune to keep fine Gardens in taste, but I have been told that it's only of late years that Greens or Cabbages have been raised in this Country at all or in any plenty. All Greens & roots are calld by the name of Sause here. As to fruits, Apricots & Necterans are rarieties indeed, but Peaches, Strawberries, & Gooseberries grow wild, yet these, compared with those cultivated in Gardens in Old Engl^d are in Size as crabs to Apples, & of little

value, we have these in Garden cultivated besides currance & rasberries but all scarse wth us, the Birds devouring 'em when ripe.

My Bro^{r} has planted some hundreds of Fruit Trees of all sorts, so that we hope to have plenty, his Land his 30 Acres, every field an Orchard, reckond the greatest Apple Farm & the finest fruit in this Provence. We have plenty of standing Peach Trees, improved by Pruning, English wheat does not succeed here, but Hay & Pasture Land with Indian Corn & Apples.

There's a great enemy to the Fruit, a kind of Worm that rises out of the Ground into the Trees, as soon as the Frost breaks, destroys the Apples ere they Bud, & all the Leaves, so that all the Trees round us, appears with a most dreary aspect in the Summer. There's only one remedy to prevent this Evil, found out, that is, Taring all the Trees for about 3 months every Evening after sunsett. This is a great piece of work for our Farmer, for if one evening be miſs'd it renders all ineffectual, & even this practice destroys the Trees in time, to guard against w^{ch}, a girdle of Cloth is bound round each Tree, by this means my Bro^{r} has preserved his Fruit, whilst many of our Neighbors who wod not be at the trouble & expense, have all been destroy^{d}, & unleſs the practice be universal, these Vermin w^{ch} are a growing Evil, can't be extirpated. & this makes both good Cyder, & apples very rare, here, at this time of the Year, & the Latter very acceptable to our friends at Boston & round us, not withstanding the plenty of Apple Trees in this Country.

It's not so very cheap Living in this Country as some imagine, tho' provisions are plenty, yet they grow dearer I believe all over the world, as its what the Inhabitants here complain of, some think the Navy & Army has helpd to raise the price of things, however I believe the People are so civil to us Strangers, or new comers, to make us pay more handsomely for everything, than they do their own people. Fish is the cheapest thing for w^{ch} we must Send to Boston. Butchers meat paſses our Door, we pay for mutton & veal 3^{d} & 3$\frac{1}{2}^{d}$ Sterling a pound. Beef something Leſs. Pork more. Fresh butter is not to be procured in Winter, but we get fine Tub Butter at 6$\frac{1}{2}^{d}$ Sterl^{g} a pound.

Our wild fowl are cheifly Quails, Partridges, Pigeons, & Robins — woodcocks & Snips are great variety. we never saw any Larks here, plenty of Tame Fowl in Season, fat ducks we pay a shilling a piece for, & 6^{d} or 7^{d} for chickens. we have rabbits & Hares but very different from what they are in England, what they call Hares are more like Rabbits, small & white as Snow, & unsavory meat, near as white as rabbits.

Squrrils are eat here — After all its not the price, but the Quantities of proviſsion, the great Feasts & increasing Luxury, that is expensive to House Keepers, Your Cooks & confectioners are imported from London, & there are few families when the[y] make a Dinner but hires profeſsd Cooks, (These are what we have never had in our house)

Besides there are several eſsential articles extreamly Dear. The price of firewood at this time is 2\Sterl^{g} a

square foot each way, so that I am surprised any who are pinchd wth cold & poverty don't run away to a warmer climate, but in the Southern Provinces proviſsions are dearer.

Upon the whole its very easy for a Family to expend 4 or 500 a year. M^{r} I: A: did not spend Leſs than £1000 a year, cheifly in entertain^{g} elegantly.

We in this retreat are never better satisfied [than] wth plain Roast & boild, yet we must keep up [some] Society with those who shew us civilities — at this time we are seperated from all the world by a [deep snow], & thankfull we are provided against this Siege [by] Store of Salt Proviſsions. We kill two hogs & [cure] 16 Hams besides upon Winter — are twelve in [family].

Finding myself obliged to put the first sheet under cover, am not so genteel to send it blank, but have [fill^{d}] it with Triffles, w^{ch} occurs to my thoughts. I sho'd be glad you woud be so obliging to order for me 4 p^{r} Pumps, & 4 p^{r} Shoes, of good black Everlasting from M^{r} Garnet. I shall advise again w^{ch} way to send 'em perhaps tow^{ds} Autumn, only desire he will please to get 'em ready.

The Gay party I mentioned in my last were broke up when Comod^{re} Gambia went. Adm^{l} Montague & his Lady are more sedate rational kind of Folks go to Bed at 10 o'Clock. She [is a w]oman of strong S[ense], a gracefull person, & great Addreſs, takes care of the Education of her Children, & instructed her Sons in Latin as I heard her say.

I propose[d] writing to Chester by this conveyance but doubt if this will come in time, or whether [the ship] can sail this weather. My Bro[r] & Sister [joyn] in respects to [M[r]: &] M[rs] L: & Miſs L: with

Dear Mad[m] your Affectionate

A Hulton

March 20, 1771
Boston

XI

I have Dear M[rs] Lightbodys agreable favor of the 28 Feb[y] it gives me real pleasure to hear you & your family are well & that the alarming Apprehensions w[ch] you must have had for those [who] are dear to you, were over. The Hannahs I hope are both perfectly [recovered]

I wou'd gratify your Curiosity, or rather answer your obli[ging] enquires, about this Country, where your friends Lot is cast. I am not thoroughly acquainted with the Town of Boston. It is in short like a large Seaport Town in England, & the People speak as good English as anywhere, it is built on a Peninsula & about two mile Long, joynd to the Continent by a piece of Land calld the Neck, w[ch] is a mile Long, & twice as broad as a great Street, this is the only way by Land out of the Town, the main Street enter[s] the Town is a mile Long, there are a great number of By Streets & hobbling Pavements, the publick build[gs] are the Exchange, the Town House, & Fennil Hall, there are 2

Episcopal churches, besides the Kings Chaple, but one Presbyterian (properly calld) and about 12 Independant Congregationalists, Some of these Ministers are very flaming Preachers, that is they take occasion to inflame the People, both by their Sermons & Prayers against Governmt & all belonging to it, partic: Dr C—per & Dr Chancy &c. It may seem strange, but I believe its very true, that the Sunday after my Bror was attackd in his own House, wth an apparrent design upon his Life, after we were gone to the Castle — Dr Ch—cy preachd a Sermon on that occasion & told his people plainly out of the Pulpit, that the Commisr broke his own windows, to cast an odium on the Country & the next day this Rev Dr went all about, impresg this opinion on the People, & however ridiculous it may seem, it was actualy believed by two thirds of the People in Boston, Untill those of our Township of their own accord, exerted 'emselves to bring the matter to light, [and brought] Several Evidences before a Justice of Peace, who swore to meeting the Villains disguised upon the Road & that they enquired the way to Mr H: house, nay the Evidences went so far as naming particular persons upon which they were Stop'd & privately threatned that if they proceeded further in Information they sho'd suffer, so there the enquiry ended.

But since People have spoke their opinion more freely, many have declared they believed Mr T—— (then a Commisr) sent them out. he has certainly a heart capable of such an action; as diabolical a one per-

haps as ever poſseſsd a human breast, before the Commiſsn was established he was Surveyor General, & he imagined if he coud get rid of the Commiſsrs he sho'd be reestablishd in that office, & his whole study & buſineſs was to harrase, distreſs, counteract, & if poſsible to overturn the Board at wch he satt & he almost succeeded, he Stird up the People to persecute every Member of it, makeg 'em believe if they drove away the Commiſss they wod get rid of payg Duties, but since they find these hopes are vain, that T—— is discarded by the King, & Sunk in oblivion in Londn this Country has been more peaceable & the abuse of the Commiſsrs in a great measure ceased, not but the seeds of discord & sedition that has been sown, still remains, & there are not wanting persons who are industrous to inflame & stir up the People, encouraged by the Lenity of Governt & no doubt the fruit will break forth in some future day, I wish it may not be in ours.

His Majestys Instructions to his Governt. are the present Subjects of Contention, & we all in an uproar on a new occaſsion. You must know that the manner of Laying Taxes by the Province here are arbitrary, & partial, & tho' they don't allow G: Britain has any right to tax 'em here, they have extorted very exorbitant & oppreſsive Taxes from the Crown Officers, & the King in order to relieve 'em from this oppreſsion, in His late Instructions [to the Govr] forbids his Aſsent to the Tax Bill unleſs the Commiſsrs are excepted in it from any Tax on their Saleries, as well as the Governor

If these Instructions had arrived a day later it wod

have come too late for this year, This affair has made a great noise, but no further consequences. I hope the Storm is almost over, but no Tax Bill paſsd We think ourselves happy in a retreat from the Town where every cross wind or what thwarts thier inclinations raises a Storm [and ferment.] The Climate agrees well with us all, We are on as healthy [a spot] as any part of Nº America, yet I cant but think O: England a healthy Climate on the whole, The extreams of heat & cold are [severe] here, & the viciſsitudes so sudden, now we are melting with heat & anon perhaps the wind may turn Easterly & we may chill wth cold. However the exceſsive heat of Summer continues not Long, little Spring, fine Autumns, & very Long winter Season, most part keen frost, wch we think as pleasant weather as any.

It was thought hardly practicable for a Gentlemans Family to live the Winter in the Country here, till my Bror made the attempt, & now it is become the taste to reside in the Country, so that there [are] no Houses to be had, my Bror is esteemed one of the most desirable places (as I've heard several Gentlemn say) in this part of the Country, from the improvmts he has made, merely in convenience & neatneſs, as to the situation, there's no very extensive prospect from the House, being surroundd wth Hills & Woods at a good distance This makes it more habitable & warm in Winter, But from our Ground near we have fine Views, the House built on a Rock, supplyd with good Water Springs, wth a Large Lawn in front, Shrubs & flowers on the borders of it to imitate Nature in its Wildneſs & variety. We

keep two Cows. Hay & Apples the chief produce of the Land. Have made 90 Barrels of Cyder in one Year, & at same time consumed 100 Bushils of Apples in the Family. The Children almost Live upon 'em when ripe. I have attempted to give you an idea of our place & situation as you are pleased to desire, & admitting it may be posseſsd in peace, in quiet, M^r & M^rs H: wo'd not I believe chuse to exchange it for any other in America. the cheapneſs of Living, it can only be comparatively so in regard to London, for it is dearer upon the whole than any other part of England, Tho' Provisions as Flesh, Fish & Fowl, are about the same prices as in Chester Market, yet every other article is dear as in Lond^n particul^y Houses, & pine wood, & this is a proof of it that a Single person Can't Board & Lodge in Boston und^r £35 Sterl^g a year [nor] coud my Bro^r have a House there for his Family for Leſs than £50 a year.

We cant boast of such agreable neighbors as you have both in Town and in country, nor any very near, but those we have are inoffensive to us. The circle of our acquaintance is very large more than we can well Keep up for it is not afternoon Viſsits those we seldom go without dineing too. Wednesdays & Saturdays we have always Company at home seldom leſs than 10 or 12 on Saturdays to dine w^th us. Kitty whom I sent to M^rs H: proves a usefull Serv^t & very good Cook She has a white Girl & two Negroes under her in the House besides the Nursery maid & Farmer.

There's a little genteel Town about 4 Miles off calld

Cambridge where a number of Gentlemens Familys live upon their Estates & there is an Afsembly there in the Winter to w^ch^ my Bro^r^ Subscribed They all seem^d^ pleased at his joyning their Society everyone endeavoring to make it as agreable to us as posible, about 20 couple generaly danced once a fortnight. I went twice or thrice in the Winter.

There are a great many Meeting Houses in the Country as well as the Town, no lefs than Six within 3 or 4 Mile of us round about, one of 'em a fields length off our house, to which we all go on Sunday when we dont go to Town. There's a new Meeting House built two M[iles off] in w^ch^ M^r^ Whitefield preachd one of his last Sermons, it was a Kind of consecration Sermon, I heard him that once, he had always a very croud^d^ Audience at Boston whilst he remaind here. This Meet^g^ House has never been fixd with a Minister tho' many have been on Trial in twelve months past, but at length a M^r^ Gorden from Stepney near London, comes over to America, w^th^ strong recommend^n^, he receives an Invitation to this Congregation & is so extreamly well liked, that the patron of it, is going to build a House for him & his wife for their Lives. This new Meeting is opposid by its neighbors who will not permit the Dues p^d^ by its members to be taken from the other Meetings two^ds^ Supporting this, that is, to make it a distinct Congregation by Authority.[1]

Upon w^ch^ the Patron is so disgusted that he threatens

[1] The last part of the original letter is missing. Fortunately a copy of the whole has been preserved. From it what follows is taken.

to make it an Episcopal Church if Mr Gordon will conform & go to England to recieve Orders. We went the other Sunday to hear this Gentleman my Bror was much pleased with his Sermon & delivery; but it seems surprizg to us that so good a Preacher shd quit a Place in England for America where heres not so much want of Ministers, perhaps you may know this Mr G. makes Me mention him. You see I write you all the news I can, tho I must own none very interestg to you in peaceable times here. I took a large Sheet.

Winter Cards were sent to 40 or 50 persons in this form, A Party of Ladies & Gentlemen intendg to dine at such a place on —— desire the pleasure of Mr & Mrs —— Compy Mr & Mrs H. declining the invitatn as well as many others, are excused afterwards from shareg in these parties wch they are very glad of, & think themselves on the best terms with them all that is, that of civility & respect, visiting now & then. Indeed for sometime after we left the Town Mrs H. did not visit Mrs B. but several persons spoke to her sayg that Mrs B was under great concern, that any distance or shyneſs shd be between em. Mrs H. — ſd She wd visit Mrs B. but She wd not meet Mrs S there, if She did wd instantly leave the House, accordingly She went, & who shd come driving in immediately to her but Mrs S. Mrs H: got up saying as She had other company She wd take her leave at present, & went away ere the other — to acct for this breach of politeneſs, wd be too tedious to describe the Lady & all her behaviour, but shes the most singular Character I ever met with — such a mix-

ture of the Agreeable & the Audacious, & her conduct was unaccountable till she no longer kept up appearances. her Husband a good natured, insignificant besotted Man, he entertain^{d} his Ladies in one Part of a great House, & She her Gentlemen at the other.

I took a large Sheet, thinking it w^{d} contain all I have to say but have exceeded its limits M^{r} & M^{rs} Hulton went a Circuit of 300 Miles (to see some of this Country) at Whitsuntide. I had a Journey of 260 Miles

It is only the Vast and extensive in its Original State that engages the Curiosity of the Traveller here, & to be sure We see a great variety of Noble Prospects at the cost of much fatigue bad roads & hard fare. As to the Elegancys of Life the improvements of Art, or fine cultivated fields of Grain, Nobody needs expect to see these in greater perfect^{n} or are they to be expect^{d} at all in the Wilds of America, All the Luxury & Elegance that is in this Province is confined to Boston, & twenty Miles round, if you travel further it is neceſsary to carry your Provisions with you.

Here we follow the fashions in England & have made great strides in Luxury & Expence within these three years Esp^{ly} in that of Dreſs & the young Ladies seem as smart as those we left in England. The only publick Entertainm^{ts} & amusem^{ts} are in an Aſsembly in the Winter in Boston, & Feasting & Partys going out into the Country having a Dinner & a Dance, this is very Common & often not return^{g} home till day break but we have avoid^{d} em however we are going today on a small Fish^{g} Party We are entirely seperated from M^{r}

Burchs family since a West India Family came over a Mr Sobers for you must know their taste & way of Life proved upon further acquaintance quite different to ours, Disipation & pleasure, indulgence & Luxury, being the busineſs of their Lives & every day devoted to it. Mrs Sober suitd em exactly till her Conduct became notorious & her house avoided by all Ladies of Character & they Mr S. were forced to leave this Coutry for Barbadoes where their Estate is, but before this arrives Commode Gambia & his Lady. She young, genteel, & Lively, joins or leads the gay circle with great Vivacity (consistg of 4 or 5 Ladies & some Officers of the Army & Navy) but Mrs G cou'd not bear Mrs S. & the tone being given against her Mrs B wd have dropd her if they coud when they cd not keep her up. The first Party of Pleasure after Mrs G. arrived was in the depth of Winter

My Bror tho in the publick Office that he is, is Obliged to see & entertain a deal of Company, as well as to shew Civilities where he receives em yet his recourses for pleasure is in the enjoymt of a few friends & in retired & Domestick Life, & his two fine Boys contribute not a little to it, being a constant fund of entertainmt besides that he sais he has too much busineſs on his hands to allow time for Frolicks He is I am confident the only Man of busineſs in the Commſsn it to be obserd that whatever diſsentions there is between the Ladies, it does not reach to the Gentlemen at their Board, I have given you a long history publick & private & trust you will reckon this two or three Letters &

read it accordingly at different times that you may not be quite tired & wish me not to write again, depend on it never so much at once. It will always give me pleasure to hear of Yours & Your happineſs & I hope you & Mr L. will enjoy it long with your Childn in your new House, since Your former neighbours are removed & You have those near that are agreeable to you, I hope it was not want of health that occasiond Mr N to go live at the Park, thats but a Step, Hope theirs & Mr C. Family are all well I wish to be remberd wth Kind regards to all frds

Yours A H.

XII

Augt 1772 [1]

In my last Letter I desired the favor of you to bespeak for me of my Shoemaker Mr Garnet 8 pr of Black Everlasting Pumps & Shoes, and cou'd wish to have added to them a pr of Black Silk Shoes, if you can get any Strong figured or Spotted black Silks, (black Satten is not servisable). If a remnant & not very dear, I shod have no Objection to two pair.

Let the Shoemaker pay for it, & charge it in his Bill, which I shall desire Cosn Suky Hincks to send Cash to you for payment of —— There is another commiſsion wch I am desired to beg the favor of you. That is a small Crate of Staffordshire ware, if to be bought at

[1] This letter is undated except in the penciled script of some former owner of the MS. The date is obviously correct.

Liverp[l], I sent a Crate of the Yellow ware from thence which cost about £3 to my Bro[r] and they are now almost demolish'd. My Sister liked them much & desires to have another Crate if I cou'd trouble you to buy 'em, but she Says if there's any new fashion or invention of M[r] Wedgwood of this kind of ware, that is approved, Shod prefer it to the Yellow over again, but chuses the usefull & neat, rather than Ornamental, as they are for common Servise, therefore nothing Gilt & no matter how few Tureens. One is sufficient as we have sev[l] China ones, but if they can't be had w[th]out two Tureens it can't be help'd. Chuse Sause boats rather without Spoons, as these break. But drink[g] cups, Jugs & we cou'd dispense with a good many in the Crate along with the Dishes plates &c.

Now as to sending these things to Boston, we must wait till a Liverpool Veſsil comes here, but wou'd desire they may be sent by the first Opportunity, I doubt it's hardly to be expected this side Xmas. For the payment of what you Lay out on this acc[t] you will likewise call on Cos[n] S: H: I shall mention it to her. The Shoes may be sent in a Box each pair (tell the Shoemaker) to be lapd well in paper. I forgot to mention a pair of Cork Goloshoes, shod wish to have a p[r] please tell him to make 'em Long enough, & the Top Leath[r] all in a piece, & let him paste some white Sheeps Leather within the bottom of the Shoe's, for they are generaly too wide in the Winter, tho' the[y] may fitt in the Summer. I used to pay him 4/6 a pair, but the last he charge'd somthing more perhaps it was for Car-

rege I can buy here as cheap as them, but not to fit so well.

This I expect to go by an extraordinary conveyance indeed, that is by a Ship belonging to Chester.

Mr & Mrs. Hulton desire to Joyn me in respectfull Compts to you & Mr. L: They are intending themselves a Little Tour soon of about a Thousand Miles, & will be at Least two or three Months away, I am to be left with [the] care of my three Nephews, fine hearty Boys. The Measles are at every House almost in Boston & about us.

My Bror who has been continualy making Improvemts In his Habitation, has this Sumr built a Kitchen, Room over it, & a Dairy, whilst this was doing, Our House was broke open one Night, & most of our Plate carried off, & I doubt we shall never find it again.

We have never heard anything of poor Mr & Mrs Apthrop [Apthorp] who I mentiond in my last as Lost in their paſsage from New York, their friends are all gone into Mourning.

I have just rec'd a letter from London, [which] gives me the pleasure to hear Mrs Ashton was got quite well, & that your Sister was well at Mr Collys, I am sorry alaſs for their Loſs in Young Mr Colly, it must be a severe stroke.

There are two great inconveniences for Families [in this] Country, the want of good Servants, no one [will c]all another Master, it's owing partly to there is, no distinctions, scarsly in the So[ciety], an-

other is the want of good Schools for Education, Here is a Colledge indeed, but the Independancy & Liberty with wch the Youths are brought up, and indulged, makes too many of 'em proficients in Vice. so that my Bror wou'd not trust a Son of his [there] on any account, & I believe therefore my little Nephews wou'd be sent to England for Education, but here's lately a worthy Clergyman proposes to begin a private accademy upon a new Plan, & to take a few Boys, of wch numbr my nephew Tom is to be [one a] year or two hen[ce. A]t present, he is my Pupil. it will be 20 Miles off us where

We was lately by invitation at a publick Dinner given at Cambridge on one of the Youths taking his degrees at which there was four hundred Ladies & Gentlemen Set[t dow]n at one Table [out] of Doors, under a Cover made on purpose it was a genteel Entertainmt & a pretty Scene.

I am Dear Mrs Lightbodys Affectionate A. Hulton.

XIII

Boston *Augt 25, 1772*

I have Dear Mrs Lightbodys kind favor of 12 March. I esteem it more so, as you did not wait for my acknowledgment of your former one, of Novr Tho' I wrote immediately on the rect of it, I think it was in March.

The Disorder which attack'd you was very alarming,

yet I can imagine you composed & resignd under it, but not so your friends. They no doubt were full of anxiety & distreſs on your account, as your friend in America woud have been had she been present.

I hope all danger of any return of those symtoms was over when you wrote, & that you have recoverd Your health & strength, tho' probably it may be long before, after being weakened so much.

Here is a Gentleman who had a violent spitting of blood, at times, for three Years, which reduced him to such a weak & emaciated State, that he was not able to walk, & his Life was despaird of. Yet he is now in a good State of health, tho' very thin. It was 18 years before he perfectly regain'd his health. I askd him lately, what Means he found benifit by, He said that giving over all buſineſs & care, he quited the Town, the Country Air, riding a great deal in it, & Dieting partly on Milk, was the method he used and which he found conducive to his Recovery & health. This Gentleman is a Scotchman, his name, Logan.

I mention him particularly as he is a very worthy character, & a great friend of my Brothers, he says his equal is not to be met with in this Country, or scarsly in any for Aſsiduity, faithfulneſs & fortitude in Serving his friends, & in times of the greatest danger & distreſs. and that from his understandg Skill, probity, & diligence He woud be a valuable treasure to any great Man of Fortune, that cou'd afford to allow him 3 or £400 a year — as a Steward to Manage his affairs. He is my Brors right hand in regard to his advice about his Farm,

being one of the best farmers in this Country, & he often tells him that he owes his agreable place of abode to him — for he purchased this House & Land for my Bro^r in his own name, at the time nobody wou'd Lett or Sell to a Commiſsioner. We can't but think it fortunate that what was purchased from neceſsity, almost without knowing anything more than that it was a place to put his family in, sho'd prove one of the most desirable places in this Provence, as it seems to be by what everybody we see here tells us

This Worthy Man (as I have mentiond him I must tell you his story). M^r L: has been alaſs! very unfortun^te. He poſseſs'd a pretty fortune w^ch he employd in Trade as a Merch^t in Boston, in Partnership with another person, who injur'd him notoriously, he went off with all M^r L: effects, & he after a fruitleſs pursuit of him for about twelve Months, from one West India Island to anoth^r is obliged to Sit down with his wife & family in a Cottage, or small house, two or three Miles of us, on a little place in the Customs of £50. a year w^ch he since obtaind, this is but penury here. He is expecting S^r Fran: Barnard will procure som'thing better for him & justly so, if it be in his power, from his unwearied attention to his interest, & services render^d him in his absense for w^ch he will not receive any gratuity otherwise than as a Gentleman. But there's no other channel scarsely to perferment than thro' Members of Parlia^mt who can serve the Minister, A Life of Servises & Sufferings even in the cause of Govern^mt without this, will avail nothing. But what is more dis-

couraging to faithfull Servants of the Crown than to see the Vilest Characters & its greatest Enemies countenanced & advanced?

I am greatly concern'd for A^t H^s Affliction in the Loſs of her Son, did not hear of it till five Months after, from Miss Tylston, Letters are so long in com^g by the Packet. I: H: seem'd much affected at first on hearing it. There's little prospect of his get^g anything better than the place he has under this Board.

I suppose you are now fix'd in an agreable House of your own, May you Long enjoy it with your family in Comfort. I doubt the things I left in your house, wou'd be in your way & give you some trouble. I sho'd pay the Porterage of 'em.

The disagreable affairs to which they belong, & w^ch has occaſsiond me so much trouble are never finish'd yet, I have never rec^d anything from the West Indies, where there's about £1000 lying in debts, the Gentleman to whom I sent the Power to recover 'em, is now in London, & has promised to write me soon about them, and as soon as I hear from him shall write M^r Earle on the subject.

Whatever money I rec^d for the Estate &c I Put into the Bank Stock, agreable to M^r Earles advice, & there it still lies, till the affair can be adjusted between Mr. J: G: & the other Cred^rs w^ch I found beyond my power to do.

XIV

Having a short notice of a vefsil just sailing for Liverpool, I woud write a few Lines

Am anxious to hear how Dr Mrs Lightbody does, hope it has pleas'd God to recover and establish your health, since that interruption of it, which your last favor informd me of, shall be very glad to hear of yours & your familys health.

We have a sick house at present. My Nephews Tom & Harry are ill of the Measles, hope they will do well, tho' the latter has them violently.

I wrote to you in August last, and desired the favor of you to buy, & send a small Crate of Staffordse Ware, by a vefsil from Liverpool, for my Bror I mentiond that if there is any new invention or fashion since the Cream colourd, Mrs Hulton woud chuse it rather than that, but by no means gilt cream colourd, as some are, They are wantd for daily & common use besides that the plain or figured Edge we esteem genteeler. I hear there has been lately a large importation of them to Boston, however we shall now wait till we hear from you & are in hopes of some variety in the fashion, from Liverpool, be that as it will, we shall be obliged to you, I am sorry to give you the trouble.

I desired too some Shoes to be made by Mr Garnet for me, if they are done, please to send them in a box at same time, & call upon Cosn Suky Hincks to pay whatever you Lay out on our accounts.

There must be a great consumption of the cream

colour'd Staffordshire ware, for they are universaly used I beleive all over this Continent.

My Bro^{r} and Sister who have traveled lately near 1400 Miles, say they found them at every house.

I think I mentiond in my last that they were setting out on a journey to Canada, they return^{d} by the 20th of Octob^{r} This adventure of theirs has made a great Noise here at Boston, and amased everybody, to hear where they had been for it was before thought an impracticable thing for a wheeld Carriage to paſs through the trackleſs Woods that lyes between this & Canada or an idea of [the] difficulties encountered in traversing the Wilds of America, M^{rs} H: surmounted them all, & endur'd the hardships with great resolution. A kind Providence preserved them both thro' many dangers in the way.

My Bro^{r} writes by this opportunity to M^{r} Nickolson [&] probably gives him some acc^{t} of his journey.

The Sons of Liberty in Boston are using all [their] endeavors to raise a Riot, the pretence is, the Salaries appointed by Governm^{t} for the Judges here. We are told from Gentlem^{n} who know the people well that it will be imposible for them ever to raise a Mob that will attack us again, that the disposition of the People in general towards my Bro^{r} & particularly in our Town is so well known, that they will not attempt to disturb him on any account.

We have been alarm'd with a report of Pirates hovering about this Coast w^{ch} deters Ships from going out for sometime past. there is some foundation for it, but

the Governor & Admiral cant yet fathom the bottom of it a Sloop of War is sent out in quest of them.

My Bro^r & sister joyn in best Respects to you & M^r Lightbody

I am
Your Affectionate
Friend & Hble Serv^t
A Hulton

Brooklyn Near
Boston *Nov^r 21. 1772*

I. Hincks is here at present & very well

XV

I had the pleasure to receive Dear M^rs Lightbodys favor in May, together with the Cask of Staffordshire ware, & box w^th Shoes, all which gave Satisfaction, as I then acknowledg^d by letter to you, hope you rec'd it, & that you are paid [by] Cos^n S: Hincks what you laid down for those Articles

It will give sincere pleasure to your friends in America to hear that you & yours enjoy health, I hope M^r L: is quite recover'd of his disorder, w^ch he was afflected with when you wrote. Was sorry to hear of the return of your Stomack complaints, tho' trust it is not dangerous. Wish you long to enjoy your agreable habitations in Town & Country & every felicity in your Family. That we may meet in a better world I need not say is my most ardent wish. — When we reflect on

the goodneſs of Providence in Supporting & carrying us thro' difficulties & trials, what an encouragment is it to hope & trust That he intends to Lead us to a durable felicity.

The Events that have occurrd with us since I wrote last, are the addition of another Son to my Bro^{r} (w^{ch} makes four boys) & the removal of I: Hincks to New Providence at the Bahamas, as Comptroler of the Customs there, it was about three Months ago that he saild, I have wrote Aunt Hincks twice since, first acquaint^{g} her of his Embarking, & afterw^{ds} of his arrival at the Port. he found the Island in a very Sickly State, a Comp^{y} of the 14th Regiment w^{ch} had been on the Expedition to S^{t} Vincents have^{g} brought a Malignant Fever that spread over the Island, had carryd off most of the Soldiers, & Officers, some of whom H: was particularly acquai^{ted} with, & had flatterd himself to meet there.

Altogether made it very melancholy to him. Yet we have great reason to hope he woud escape the destemper, as the violence of the Contagion was pretty well over when he arrived, he said & it was 10 or 12 days after his arrival when he wrote to my Bro^{r} We are now prepar^{g} Some Pork, Beef. Pickles &c whatever is eatable (& proper to send him) will be acceptable by Lieu^{t} Griffith in a Kings Veſsil which is going to be Stationd there & no small joy will it be to H: to see his old acquaintance G. he is son to M^{r} Griffith Att^{y} in Chester.

Boston is reckond to be one of the healthiest Cli-

mates on this Continent, yet the great Extreams of the Seasons, & Sudden changes of the weather must be trying to Constitutions, M^rs H: says she's sure we shall lose Seven years of our Lives by living here, yet we have all had a pretty good share of health hitherto.

There are some disorders w^ch People here am most Subject to, as Rhumatisms, and Consumptions, the latter takes off many Young Persons. There's another terrible disorder, calld here the throat Distemper, w^ch attacks Children cheifly, this sometimes Spreads, & sweeps away numbers in a short time.

To give you some idea of the great & sudden changes of the weather, at w^ch times few persons escape colds, It is so hot generaly in the few hot Summer months that people will Lodge with their windows open upon them & only a Sheet to cover 'em — when suddenly the wind perhaps changes to East & pierces one thro' — the Pores being open by the violent heat preceding. the next day we have been obliged to have a fire in the parlour. The Thermometer was observed to be between 30 & 40 degrees different in two days together, last Sum^r —The hottest day in Summer it rises to about 100 degrees, & the coldest it is several degrees below 0. — The last Winter was the most moderate & the Summer the longest ever known here (by what they say.) it has continued near Seven Months to the Middle of this Month.

You woud perhaps expect to hear an acc^t of our political State, rather than of the Seasons & Weather, in-

deed one is not more subject to viciſsitudes than the other. When it appears a calm we never look upon it as settled. It depends very much on what Wind blows from your quarter of the World. When dark clouds & Storms threaten us acroſs the Atlantic, then the tempest subsides here, & a profound Calm succeeds for a while, but then those impending Clouds being blown away, this Calm is follow^{d} by commotions& hurricans. The Patriotic friends in England (partic: one who enjoys very lucrative office under Governm^{t}) have wrote that *here they have nothing to hope from the justice but everything from the fears of those in Administrtion.* As they impute every indulgence to timidity in Governm^{t} You'l not wonder that we are still in the midst of Storms & alarms — a dreadful State of Society.

I have not heard from Chester a long time hope friends there are well. In regard to your inquiry about I: H: & his new Employment at the Bahamas, It is doubtleſs a promotion in point of Rank, but as to proffit, it depends cheifly on Fees, & therefore it's uncertain whether it will be to his advantage in this respect, till he has made trial.

The climate of New Providence where he is They say is healthy, tho' to the Southward, the Sea breezes moderating it greatly. There is another good circumstance, he writes that they have the advantage of Boston in this, that the Officers of the Revenue are there all treated with respect by the Inhabitants. Otherwise it must have been disagreable in a confined Society, as it is, to one who likes Company. It is (what they say the

healthiest place often are) a Dry Barren Soil. Does not produce many neceſsarys of Life, as I understand, but plenty of Fish, particularly Turtle, & other Luxuries, as Pine Apples, Oranges, Limes, &c. They are supplied with proviſsions from N° America &c.

If it does not prove so advantagious or agreable an Appointment as I: H: or my Bro^r coud wish for him, It's probable it will only be for a time, & that som'-thing better may turn up for him, after a while. It were to be wish^d it coud be independant of the Board of Customs in N° America — At a Board which consists of a number of Persons, the majority of whose Votes determines everything relating to the Board, and each member having their private Opinions, & prejudices, their different connections, & Attachments. It can not be expected that they shoud be harmonious in all points. The case here is otherwise, and H^s has his Enemies as well as friends at the Board. My Bro^r says he is unfortunate in a talent for ridicule, & raising Mirth, which has occaſsiond him to sacrifice his interest, & friends, for the diversion of Company, in unguarded hours, by talking too freely of some of the Commiſs^rs by w^ch he made them his Enemies, & gave them advantage over him. I know my Bro^r has sufferd a deal of uneaſineſs & vexation on his account, & I believe many contests with his Brethren. If I: H: had more prudence & leſs wit he woud have been in a much better situation (my Bro^r Says) than he is, or has been in.

I have wrote you more freely on this Subject as you make partic: inquiries about him, & in confidence that

you will not let anything be known which you think might add to the Afflictions of his poor Mother. It's very poſsible you may have heard otherways, of the prejudices of some members of the Board agst H^{s} for M^{r} Humphreys who was appointed to his Office Clerk of the Min^{rs} to the Board m[ar]ried a Miss Gardner I believe a Sister of Major Gardner, who used to live with M^{r} Tarleton. Another Sister of hers, has been som'times at M^{rs} Hinckes, at Chester. M^{r} Humphreys is a Sober industrous Young Man, he was born at Constantinople. Miſs G: came over with one of her Sisters to New York, a Bro^{r} of theirs residing there. Miſs G: afterw^{ds} married M^{r} H: on a short acquaintance. He came to Boston 2 or 3 years ago as Agent Victualer, he was very ill used by some persons here, who misrepresented him to his principals at home, by which he lost his employment, & you may suppose then in an unhappy situation, in a strange Country, & M^{rs} Humphreys very sickly. M^{rs} Montague the Admirals Lady who was acquainted wth a Bro^{r} of M^{rs} Humphreys & hav^{g} I believe a great opinion of M^{r} H^{s} merits Interested herself much in his favor to procure from the Commiſs^{rs} the vacant office under them. The subject led me to mention this, & you know some of the connections.

I am much obliged to you for the Pamplet in Prose by Miſs Aikin both this & the Poems which D^{r} Percival sent my Bro^{r} at same time have afforded us great Entertainment. The young Lady has a fine poetic genius indeed. my Bro^{r} has recomended & promised the read-

ing of them to Miſs M: the Admirals Daughter who is a very genteel young Lady about fifteen.

I have inclosed the little poem w^{ch} my Bro^{r} Sends to Miſs Lightbody & another for Cos^{n} Han^{h} my best Comp^{ts} to them, to M^{r} Lightbody & to Y^{r} Sist^{r} M^{rs} Robert L:

I am Dear M^{rs} Lightbodys
Affectionate friend
A: Hulton

There were several young Ladies here desiring a Copy of the Poem, so my Bro^{r} got a few Coppies printed

XVI

My Bro^{r} & Sister in their Adventure to the Northward went as far as Quebec. Theirs was the first Post Chaise that ever accomplish^{d} the journey I believe, Thro' Woods, & Wilds, over Rocks, & Mountains, that were deem^{d} impaſsable for a Wheel Carriage before, & with only one & the same pair of Horses too, w^{ch} performd surprisingly. The Carriage, Horses, & one Serv^{t} who road on Horseback were left on this Side, when they croſsd the Lakes. They returnd home pleased with their Journey, very partial to Canada, & especialy to Montreal.

Their succeſs has put many persons here on the thoughts of making the like Excursion. a Gentleman here, who has been at Antigua, says that S^{r} Edw^{d}

Payne said to him, I hear you have roads now between Boston & Canada, for that M^r & M^rs H: have gone it in a Carriage.

I have not seen Knox's journal, but there are places where the Indians wo^d receive very unfavorable impressions of Xtianity, tho' without the Soldiers, to see every Vice not only dishonorable to Xtianity, but shocking to humanity, prevail, & practiced, under the Cloak of Religion. Such places there are in the World.

The Books my Bro^r is reading to us at present are the Voyages of Comm^dr Byron &c by Hawksworth, Jartins Sermons, & Beattie on Truth — this last is said to be the best answer to the modern Sceptics, that has been publish'd.

Col^o Leslie (who commands the Soldiers at Castle William) sent it us. This is an Amiable & good man, the Father of his Choir, & the Soldiers who all look up to him with respect, & affection, he's of a Noble Scotch family, but distinguishd more by his humanity & affability. The former Col^o was an exact contrast, proud, haughty, & voluptuous, devoted to self, & Self gratification hated in general by those under his Command, & universaly despised. The retreat of the Regiments from Boston on the 5^th of March the military can none of 'em forgive him for.

We have seen here a greater variety of Characters than perhaps we shod ever have been acquainted with in England. We are Seldom without Company. This last Summer a very agreable Lady spent some time with us. She had been married about two years to

Capt: Williams of the Active Man of War, stationed at Boston. he is first Cozen to Lady North.

Mrs W: is quite a woman of fashion bred in high Life & exceeding Lively & agreable. They are by this time arrived in England & she will have many strange Anecdotes to tell Lord N: of what she had seen in this Country the few months they were here. The reason of their quiting this Station before the time was out was Their having a great inclination to return to England and the Admiral woud not refuse 'em when an opportv offer'd of changg. Captn W: Commd from the Active to the Lively Man of War wch was ordrd for England.

The Ships Laden wth Tea from the East India House are hourly expected, the People will not suffer it to be landed at Boston, they demand the Consignes to promise to send it back. Mr Clark resolutely refuses to comply, will submit to no other terms, than to put it into warehouse till they can hear from England. They threaten to tear him to pieces if its Landd. he says he will be tore to pieces before he will desert the Trust reposd in him by the Consigners. His Son who is just arrived from England he (was at Liverpool last Sumr) & all the family were got together, the first night rejoicing at his Arrival, when the mob surroundd the House, attackg it wth Stones & clubs did great damage to the House, & furniture, when young [Clark] spoke to 'em, told 'em if they did not desist [he shou'd] certainly fire a Gun at them, wch he did, & wounded a man, it's supposed for they retreated carrying off a man, but they threatned to destroy every person in the

House if anyone of their afsociates was killd & a great number of Stones each so large as to have killd any person they had hit, were thrown about the Table where the family were at Supper, but Providence directd 'em so that they did not fall on any person. All the avenues to the House at same time were guarded by armed Men to prevent Mr Clark escaping. This was beyond anything of the kind since we came here.

My Bro^{r} joyns me in his best respects to you & M^{r} L: likewise to Mifs Lightbody to whom he desires to [send] the inclosed Poem. I am D^{r} Madam

Your Affect fr^{d} A H:

Boston *Nov^{r} 25. 1773*

XVII

Boston *Jan^{y} 25. 1774.*

Dear M^{rs} Lightbody will find the inclosed was wrote above two mo^{s} ago. I understood then that there was a vefsil bound for Liverp^{l}, but after writing it, cou'd not hear of any such opportunity. Tho' it's now an old Letter, & a mere Scrawl, yet I send it, at same time desiring you will destroy it, as soon as you have read it.

By Capt: Marsh I had the pleasure to receive your agreable favor of Octo^{r} last along wth the pamphlet. was glad to hear so good an acc^{t} of you, & your family, and that you, M^{r} & Mifs Lightbody, had made an

agreable Tour, which I hope contributed both to your healths & amusement. My Bro^{r} desires his respects to you & M^{r} L: and advises him by all means to ride at least Ten Miles every day, it is what he does 3 or 4 days in the Week, & finds benificial. he recommends to him likewise, instead of Malt Liquor, to drink Spruce Beer at Meals which is esteem^{d} very Sweetning to the Blood. However he don't pretend to prescribe as a Doctor. No doubt you have had the best advise, but he desired me to mention it from him, & that he heartily wishes M^{r} L: recovery.

You may see by the inclosed Letter, I did not stand upon the form of one from you. Did you know when I confine myself long to writing, how my health suffers by it, I am perswaded my friend woud excuse me writing frequently such long letters as my inclination desposes to, when I sit down to communicate my thoughts to you.

Nothing but neceſsary buſineſs, or to keep up a communication with some valuable friends, who will indulge me in the pleasure of hearing from them, woud ever prompt me to use my pen.

I must own, I am not disinterested in my correspondence, but expect a return of pleasure, & satisfaction, for what I send out, however trifling be the value of the Adventure. You will allow me to treat with you in the Mercantile Stile, who have been conversant in these matters lately. Yet be aſsured a kind regard to you & the hopes of hearing of y^{r} health and welfare is the first Motive.

I have been engaged several weeks past on a disagreable subject. Examining Acc^{t} & papers, and preparing a Letter of several sheets, to send M^{r} Earle by this opportunity, in order to Lay before him, & other Gentlemen whose interest is concern'd, a State of the Affairs, & to have them brought to a conclusion. But when I attempt to settle the Affairs, I find so many difficulties & obstacles to the completion of them, that I think it neceſsary to write to M^{r} Ja^{s} Gildart, to be satisfied in some points, before that Letter be sent (or the whole of it). When I left England There were several Affairs depending, particularly a Law suit in Chancery with one Tho^{s} Fearns, which I hope by this time is determined, tho' I am not acquainted with the decision. It was for a considerable Sum, M^{r} T: G: & my late Bro^{r} were the Plaintiffs,

M^{r} Fran: Gildart was employd on their side, & M^{r} Pickance was Attorney for the Defendants.

When I am satisfied in regard to this & other matters from M^{r} G: I shall (tho' it's not in my power at this distance to act) propose a plan for accommodating the Affairs, & bringing them to a final Issue, so as I doubt not will meet with the Approbation of the Creditors in general. Some of the principal of them, required of me, that I sho'd do nothing further of consequence in these matters, without acquainting them, and with this view I write to M^{r} Earle, Tho' I cannot expect or desire further from him, than to communicate the contents of my Letter (to him) to some others of the Gentlemen, who are interested, and if several of them woud joyn in

endeavoring to adjust & conclude the Affairs, I doubt not it may be Effected before X'mas.

You may wonder why I trouble you with this subject, but I woud desire the favor of you to acquaint Mr Cropper with what I now write upon it. My compliments to him, & if he will please to Apply to Mr R: Earle, he will be further informd, as I have wrote him by this opportunity.

I shou'd be glad to Know whether that Law suit be decided, & if it is, in favor of the Plaintffs, what might be the Sum recoverd, perhaps it may be publickly known, but if not, Messrs Croppers & Carter coud learn upon inquiry of Mr Pickance, if not otherways.

And if you will please to advise me as to this, it wou'd be of servise. I coud wish to know further whether (in case the Affairs with Mr Gildart &c shou'd be Settled) Mr Lightbodys House will allow me to order the Money to be remitted into their hands, in order to take up the Bond from Mr G: provided he has not recd sufficient

As it will be proper to Lodge it wth a third person who will do me that favor. At present it is in the Stocks, and it woud be improper to transfer it thence, till there's a certainty my intention of concluding the Affairs will not yet meet with Obstructions.

I understand Capt: Marsh intends coming out again to Boston early this Spring, when I may expect to hear from Mr Gildart, & also hope for the favor of Yr Answer.

XVIII

Janᵘ 31ˢᵗ 1774

You will perhaps expect me to give you some Accᵗ of the State of B—— & late proceedings here but really the times are too bad & the Scenes too shocking for me to describe. I suppose you will have heard long before this arrives of the fate of the Tea — Whilst this was in suspence. The Commiſsʳˢ of the Customs & the Tea Consignees were obliged to seek refuge at the Castle. My Broʳ happenᵈ to be there on a viſsit of a long engagement to Col Leſsley when those other Gentlemen came over. he continueᵈ there about twenty days, in the mean time viſsiting his own House (about 8 Miles from the Castle) several times. The Colᵒ & the Gentlemen of his Choir renderᵈ the retreat as agreable as poſsible by their polite Attention to every Refugee. After the destruction of the Tea. my Broʳ returnd Home & the other Commiſsʳˢ Left the Castle. The violent fury of the People having subsided a little. One woud have thoᵗ before that all the Malice that Earth & Hell coud raise were pointed against the Governor. Mr. Paxton (one of the Commiſsʳˢ) & the Tea Consignees, two of whom are the Governʳˢ Sons, the others are Mʳ Clark a respecta[ble] Old Gentleman & his Sons, with two other Merchants Mʳ Haliwell another Commiſsʳ & likewise of this Country was an object of their threats.

The Tea Consignees remain Still at the Castle. Six weeks since the Tea was destroyd, and there is no

prospect of thier ever returning & residing in Boston with Safety. This place, & all the Towns about enterd into a written agrement not to afford them any Shelter or protection, so that they are not only banishd from their families & homes, but their retreat is cut off, & their interest greatly injured by ruining their Trade.

It is indeed a severe case, & can hardly be credited, I think, that the Gov^{rs} Sons sho'd be treated as fugitives & outlaws in their own Country. One of them lately went from the Castle, & with his Wife to her Fathers House, a Gentleman at Plymouth 40 Miles from Boston They had no sooner arrived there, but the Bells toll^{d} and the Town Aſsemble^{g} instantly went to the House, demanded that M^{r} Hutchinson shoud depart immediately out of the Town. Col^{o} Watson his father in law, spoke to them, saying that it was so late at Night, & the Weather so severe, that M^{r} H: & his wife cou'd not without great inconvenience remove from his house that night, but promised them, they shoud go in the Morning by 9 o'Clock. The time came, and they were not gone, when the Town bells tolld again, & the people gatherd about the house. Upon which the Young Couple Sett off in a great snow storm. & nobody knows since where they are.

But the most shocking cruelty was exercised a few Nights ago, upon a poor Old Man a Tidesman one Malcolm he is reckond creasy, a quarrel was pickd wth him, he was afterward taken, & Tarrd, & featherd. Theres no Law that knows a punishment for the greatest Crimes beyond what this is, of cruel torture. And

this instance exceeds any other before it he was stript Stark naked, one of the severest cold nights this Winter, his body coverd all over with Tar, then with feathers, his arm dislocated in tearing off his cloaths, he was drag^{d} in a Cart with thousands attending, some beating him wth clubs & Knocking him out of the Cart, then in again. They gave him several severe whipings, at different parts of the Town. This Spectacle of horror & sportive cruelty was exhibited for about five hours.

The unhappy wretch they say behaved with the greatest intrepidity, & fortitude all the while. before he was taken, defended himself a long time against Numbers, & afterw^{ds} when under Torture they demanded of him to curse his Masters The K: Gov^{r} &c which they coud not make him do, but he still cried, Curse all Traitors. They bro^{t} him to the Gallows & put a rope about his neck say^{g} they woud hang him he said he wishd they woud, but that they coud not for God was above the Devil. The Doctors say that it is imposible this poor creature can live They say his flesh comes off his back in Stakes

It is the second time he has been Tarrd & featherd & this is look^{d} upon more to intimidate the Judges & others than a spite to the unhappy Victim tho' they owe him a Grudge for some things particul^{y} he was with Gov^{r} Tryon in the Battle with the Regulators & the Governor has declared that he was of great servise to him in that Affair, by his undaunted Spirit encountering the greatest dangers

Gov^{r} Tryon had sent him a gift of ten Guineas just

before this inhuman treatment. he has a Wife & family & an Aged Father & Mother who they say saw the Spectacle w^ch^ no indifer^t^ person can mention without horror.

These few instances amongst many serve to shew the abject State of Governm^t^ & the licentiousneſs & barbarism of the times. There's no Majestrate that dare or will act to suppreſs the outrages. No person is secure there are many Objects pointed at, at this time & when once mark'd out for Vengence, their ruin is certain.

The Judges have only a weeks time allow'd them to consider, whether they will take the Salaries from the Crown or no. Gov^r^ Hutchinson is going to England as soon as the Season will permit.

We are under no apprehension at present on our own Acc^t^ but we can't look upon our Safety, secure for Long

XIX

My Dear Friends favor of the 1^st^ March I esteem the kinder as she did not wait to hear from me, hope you woud receive afterw^ds^ a packet of several Letters wrote at different times & sent [by] Capt: Marsh who saild from Boston in Feb^y^ last.

The concern you expreſs for your friends in these troublesome times here, deserved an immediate acknowledgment, but indeed I've waited some weeks for

the opportunity of a Liverp[l] Veſsil which I heard was expected, yet none has arriv'd this Spring, & I can't delay it longer, tho' as I understand Letters by Lond[n] Ships are generaly put in at Portsmouth — a long way to travel by Land.

I imagine you will be desirous to Know how the New Acts of Parliam[t] operate here, & how y[r] friends are affected by the Commotions, & disturbances of the Publick. I am sorry to say there appears no disposition yet in the People towards complying with the Port Bill, — They carry thier Melasses & other Goods easily by Land from Salem, & find little inconvenience at present from its operation, The distreſs it will bring on the Town will not be felt very sever'ly before Winter, when the Roads will be impaſsible. There's little prospect of Boston Port being Opend this Year. The Leaders of the Faction are only more unwearied, & are pursuing every measure to draw the People onto resistance, & to irritate Governm[t] more, & more and which probably will end in the total ruin of the Town & the Indivdials

It is now a very gloomy place, the Streets almost empty, many families have removed from it, & the Inhabitants are divided into several parties, at variance, & quarreling with each other, some appear desponding, others full of rage. The People of Property of best sense & Characters feel the Tyrrany of the Leaders, & foresee the Consequences of their proceedings, woud glady extricate themselves from the difficulties, & distreſs they are involv[d] in by makeing their

peace with G: Britain, & speedily submiting to the Conditions & penalties required.

These who are well disposed towards Governm^{t} (more from interest than principle it's to be feard, as there are few will^{g} to acknowledge the Authority of Parliam^{t}) are termd Tories. they daily increase, & have made some efforts to take the power out of the hands of the Patriots, but they are intimidated & overpowerd by Numbers, & the Arts, & Machinations of the Leader, who Governs absolutly, the Minds & the Paſsions of the People — by publishing numberleſs falshoods to impose on their credulity, & various artifices to influence or terrify. The Ministers from the Pulpit & the Committee of Correspond^{ee} by writing inflame the Minds of the ignorant Country People. Their endeavors to engage the Other Colonies to shut up their Ports, & the Merch^{ts} here to joyn in a Nonimportation Agrement, proving without effect. The next plan is in opposition to the Merch^{ts} & which if it spreads must be attended wth the ruin of most of 'em here 'tis a Solemn League & Covenant, not to use any British Manufactures, till the Port is opend, & the New Acts repeald. This is a deep & diabolical scheme, & some people are taken into the Snare, but it's to be hoped the progreſs of it will be stopd, Gen^{l} Gage who conducts himself with great good sense & spirit, iſsues a Proclaimation Against it to warn 'em of its Consequences, They are startled in general, however, the little Town of Marlborough has had the Audacity to burn the Gen^{l} in effigy wth the Proclaimation.

There are four Regiments & a Train of Artillery now encamped on the Common at Boston, & several Men of War [in] y^e^ Harbor. Tho' as yet we are in no wise humbled. We [expect] support from the other Colonies, & build much on a general Congreſs to be held in Sept^r^ or Oct^o^^r^ of Deputies from all the [Colonies] We are told that Blocking up the Port is the best thing that can be for Americans, that it will unite the Colonies against G: B:, diſtreſs ther Manufactorers and raise our friends, a numerous body as we have been informd by D^r^ Frankland, viz the Diſsenters, & the Commercial part of the Nation, to exert themselves in our favor, & that we may expect a Rebellion there, which will answer our purpose, & we shall become intirely free & Independant. But if we now submit — Our Lands will be taxd — Popery introduced & we shall be Slaves for ever. I mention these as Some of the Artifices & Arguments which Keep up the spirit of opposition [by] w^ch^ the People are inflamed to the highest degree.

However I don't despair of seeing Peace & tranquility in America, tho' they talk very high & furious at present. They are all preparing their Arms & Amunition & say if any of the Leaders are seizd, they will make reprizals on the friends of Gover'ment. Three weeks will bring on the Crises.

Have not room to say all I woud. M^r^ H: at Salem his family at Home Can't be very easy as times are tho' well in health. heard lately from Hincks he was well a month [ago] best respects to all yours & to M^r^

Croppers Family, [I wish] much happineſs to the young married Couple. I shall note other matters [when] I write next. Your Affectionate

Fr^d & Serv^t A H:

July 8^th 1774

I hope for the pleasure soon of hearing from you. If there are no veſsils bound for any Port in this Colony, it's all one if you send Letters to New York or Philadelphia Direct^g for y^r fr^d the Commiſs^r at Salem They will no doubt be conveyd safe here as he informs me. I've now filled every blank space.

XX

April (?) *1775*[1]

I acknowledged the receipt of My Dear Friends kind favor of the 20^th Sept^r the begin'ing of last Month, tho' did not fully Answer it, purposing as I intimated to write again soon, be aſsured as your favors are always very acceptable, so nothing you say, paſses unnoticed, or appears unimportant to me. but at present my mind is too much agitated to attend to any subject but one, and it is that which you will be most desirous to hear particulars of, I doubt not in regard to your friends here, as to our Situation, as well as the Publick events. I will give you the best account I can, which you may rely on for truth.

[1] The letter is undated. The date as given is written in pencil at the head of the letter in the handwriting presumably of a former owner.

On the 18th instt at 11 at Night, about 800 Grenadiers & light Infantry were ferry'd acroſs the Bay to Cambridge, from whence they marchd to Concord, about 20 Miles. The Congreſs had been lately aſsembled at that place, & it was imagined that the General had intelligence of a Magazine being formed there & that they were going to destroy it.

The People in the Country (who are all furnished with Arms & have what they call Minute Companys in every Town ready to march on any alarm), had a signal it's supposed by a light from one of the Steeples in Town, Upon the Troops embarkg. The alarm spread thro' the Country, so that before daybreak the people in general were in Arms & on their March to Concord. About Daybreak a number of the People appeard before the Troops near Lexington. They were called to, to disperse. when they fired on the Troops & ran off, Upon which the Light Infantry pursued them & brought down about fifteen of them. The Troops went on to Concord & executed the buſineſs they were sent on, & on their return found two or three of their people Lying in the Agonies of Death, scalp'd & their Noses & ears cut off & Eyes bored out — Which exasperated the Soldiers exceedingly — a prodigious number of People now occupying the Hills, woods, & Stone Walls along the road. The Light Troops drove some parties from the hills, but all the road being inclosed with Stone Walls Served as a cover to the Rebels, from whence they fired on the Troops still running off whenever they had fired, but still supplied by fresh Num-

bers who came from many parts of the Country. In this manner were the Troops harrased in thier return for Seven on eight Miles, they were almost exhausted & had expended near the whole of their Ammunition when to their great joy they were releived by a Brigade of Troops under the command of Lord Percy with two pieces of Artillery. The Troops now combated with fresh Ardour, & marched in their return with undaunted countenances, recieving Sheets of fire all the way for many Miles, yet having no visible Enemy to combat with, for they never woud face 'em in an open field, but always skulked & fired from behind Walls, & trees, & out of Windows of Houses, but this cost them dear for the Soldiers enterd those dwellings, & put all the Men to death. Lord Percy has gained great honor by his conduct thro' this day of severe Servise, he was exposed to the hottest of the fire & animated the Troops with great coolnefs & spirit. Several officers are wounded & about 100 Soldiers. The killed amount to near 50, as to the Enemy we can have no exact acc^{t} but it is said there was about ten times the Number of them engaged, & that near 1000 of 'em have fallen

The Troops returned to Charlestown about Sunset after having some of 'em marched near fifty miles, & being engaged from Daybreak in Action, without respite, or refreshment, & about ten in the Evening they were brought back to Boston. The next day the Country pourd down its Thousands, and at this time from the entrance of Boston Neck at Roxbury round by

Cambridge to Charlestown is surrounded by at least 20,000 Men, who are raising batteries on three or four different Hills. We are now cut off from all communication with the Country & many people must soon perish with famine in this place. Some families have laid in store of Proviſsions against a Siege. We are threatned that whilst the Out Lines are attacked wth a rising of the Inhabitants within, & fire & sword, a dreadful prospect before us, and you know how many & how dear are the objects of our care. The Lord preserve us all & grant us an happy Iſsue out of these troubles.

For several nights past, I have expected to be roused by the firing of Cannon. Tomorrow is Sunday, & we may hope for one day of rest, at present a Solemn dead silence reigns in the Streets, numbers have packed up their effects, & quited the Town, but the General has put a Stop to any more removing, & here remains in Town about 9000 Souls (besides the Servants of the Crown) These are the greatest Security, the General declared that if a Gun is fired within the Town the inhabitants shall fall a Sacrifice. Amidst our distreſs & apprehension, I am rejoyced our British Hero was preserved, My Lord Percy had a great many & miraculous escapes in the late Action. This amiable Young Nobleman with the Graces which attracts Admiration, poſseſses the virtues of the heart, & all those qualities that form the great Soldier — Vigilent Active, temperate, humane, great Command of temper, fortitude in enduring hardships & fatigue, & Intrepidity in dangers.

His Lordships behavior in the day of trial has done honor to the Percys. indeed all the Officers & Soldiers behaved with the greatest bravery it is said

I hope you and yours are all well & shall be happy to hear so. I woud beg of you whenever you write to mention the dates of my Letters which you have rec'd since you wrote specialy my last of March 2d

I am not able at present to write to our Dear friends at Chester woud desire the favor of you to write as soon as you receive this, & present my [complements &] respects to your & my friends there, and likewise the same to those who are near to you.

I wrote not long ago both to Miſs Tylston & to my Aunt H: — have not heard yet from the Bahamas

Have never heard from Mr Gildart or Mr Earl yet [1]

The Otter Man of War is just arrived Sunday Morng

What is marked with these Lines, you are at Liberty to make as publick as you please Let the merits of Lord Percy be known as far as you can.

XXI

CHESTER *Janry 17, 1776*

I have Dear Mrs Lightbodys agreable favor of Yesterdays date, and the pleasure to hear that you and your family enjoy health. Pray accept my sincere good

[1] Three or four lines of the MS. are torn away at this point.

wishes for the continuance of your domestic happineſs, and my best thanks for your Kind invitation, Be aſsured it woud make me happy to Meet you my Dr friend anywhere, and to talk over past scenes & events provided the present gloomy scene was dispelled. I suppose you have heard that Mr Tylston talks of going up to London with Miſs Lem towards the end of next Month. They have almost perswaded your Sister & I to be of the party, This is not determin'd on, but if I don't accompany them I am engaged to go to Mrs Hignets when Mrs T: leaves Chester.

The uncertain & anxious state I am in on acct. of my Dr friends & Connections in America, admits not of spirits to think of Journeys of pleasure, or to write long letters, tho' I have much to say indeed the constant daily engagements we have here allows me not leisure hardly to write to my Bror. By the latest Accounts from Boston The Town was still invirond by the Enemy, who were urged to make a general attack upon it, (by a deputation from the Congreſs) They had often threatned it & made some efforts, They had a great number of large boats, & one night the lattr end of Octor 7000 men were drawn out to embark in them, Gen1 Lee had harangued them, but they coud not agree who sho'd go first, on the desperate attempt.

The greatest Mischief they did was to themselves for one of their Guns burst overset or blew up the boat with all the people in it. They are in numerous but in a wretched condition, in Rags, dirt, & vermin with consequent distempers, which were spread thro' all the

Towns & it's said 1200 of the fugitives out of Boston were dead since the Siege.

The Kings Troops endured great fatigues yet were in good spirits, & hoped to drive the Rebels.

Provisions & fuel were scarse & very dear, supplies uncertain, Heavy rains, Tempestuous weather, & the Winter set in very severe, some veſsils with Troops & Stores arrived more seen off in the Bay but kept out by contrary winds & it was to be feard some Proviſsion Ships had been taken by the Provincials

In this dreary situation are my Dr friends in Boston, judge then what I feel, and there are other aggravating circumstances, whilst they are looking out for present support for themselves, and their little ones, they grieve & lament for the Loſs of a most amiable woman Lady Pepperril a great breach it is in their Society, & proves an almost unsupportable Affliction to Sr William, left wth four small Children. My Bror says "the ways of Heaven are dark & intricate." That such heavy affliction sho'd befall so virtuous a Character! for he never met a man of a fairer mind, more uncorrupted by the world, or poſseſs'd of a more benevolent heart. They had been greatly distreſsd too with a report that the Veſsil in which I & fifty paſsengers saild for Engld was lost on one of the Scilly Islands, & that all the crew but eleven perishd. They had no way of being satisfied to the contrary, but on Enquiry there appeard no Authority for the report, it was supposed to have arisen from some wicked people, to distreſs those who had friends on board the Ship.

Amidst all these alarms dangers & distreſses the Small pox spread Universaly, which Obliged them to innoculate the Children. Dr little creatures God preserve them, support their Parents in this day of trial, grant relief to their anxious cares, and deliverence from the impending calamities.

My Bror says that Ships to Boston laden with Proviſsion might make a prodigious Voyage of it, The articles they want are Beef, Pork, pease, & Potatoes, Coals, and Oates &c he bought a few bushels of Potatoes out of a Liverpool Ship at 8/Sterlg a Bushil Beef sold at 16d & 18d a pound & a Goose at 10/Sterlg. I mention this desiring you will please to make it known, probably some Merchants may send out Cargos from Liverpl the sooner this Spring the better. Insurance will be but the same as in Time of War.

I wish to hear when any Veſsil goes, I wou'd send out several Articles on freight if I coud.

I wrote to Mr R Nicholson on this matter, & he was so obliging to answer me immediately, promising to let me know further. please to acquaint him & other gentlemen what things are wanted at Boston, & they may promote the sending of 'em out to the great Advantage of the Owners.

My Bror recd your favor to me wrote at Waringtn Augt 23. for which I only can return my thanks being a stranger to the contents of it, but I doubt not it gave him some pleasure. pray did you ever receive My Letters wrote in March & in April last.

I am sorry to hear you have so much trouble with

my Shoe maker, I shall be glad to have the shoes, when they are done, but not to give you trouble about 'em please let me Know how to direct to him.

Mr G: Colquits being driven back is a disagreable circumstance. So many of your friends will be writing to you that I shall not pretend to send you any news from hence at present, but beg my best respects to Mr & Miſs Lightbodys & to Mr & Mrs R Nicholson and an interest in your prayers for our friends at a distance, and your Affect friend & Hble Servt

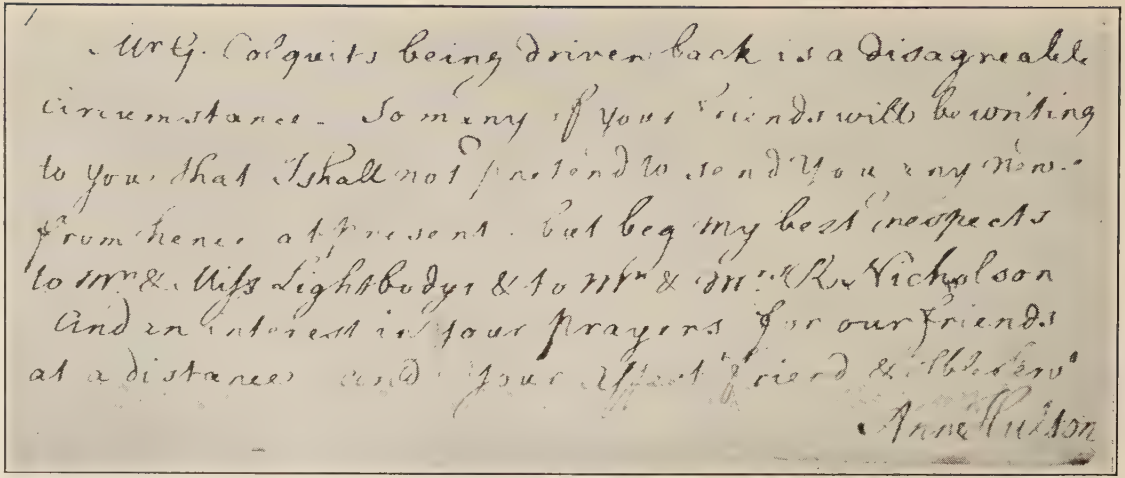
Anne Hulton

Chester *Febv 22 1776*

I have wanted to hear good news from Boston to write to Dear Mrs Lightbody in better spirits, and not so gloomy a Letter as I wrote you before.

Last Sunday I rec'd one from my Bror but have been so much engaged since, that had not an opportunity of writing till now. The Arrival of several Transports with proviſsion, & forage, and a new Admiral to the command of the fleet at Boston was a very seasonable relief, and my Bror seems to write in good spirits, tho' at the best, their situation to us must appear very disagreable, & even terrible, yet I rejoice that his children are all recover'd from the Small pox, and that they had rubbed so far thro' this dreadful Winter.

He writes by way of Journal, the last Letter beginning the 2d Decr & concluding the 15th Jany so that it


Mr Y. Colquits being driven back is a disagreable circumstance. So many of your friends will be writing to you that I shall not pretend to send You any News from hence at present. but beg my best respects to Mrs & Miss Lightbody & to Mr & Mrs R. Nicholson And an interest in your prayers for our friends at a distance and Your affect friend & Brother Anne Hulton

SPECIMEN OF MISS HULTON'S WRITING

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE LIBRARY

contains a good deal of what we have heard by newspapers before. The poor Soldiers endured great hardships, & fatigues, deluged with rain, then chilld with frost whilst they were in their Tents without Straw, Surely. (Says he) there will be subscriptions at home & donations sent out of many comforts & neceſsaries for them.

When they were at the greatest extremities for want of supplies, Gen[l] Lee wrote to an Officer advising him to come over to them, for that they had got the Army in a net, & shou'd soon drive them into the Sea or put them to y[e] Sword.

This wicked Madman (for he is look[d] upon in that light by those who know him in Chester, as well as in Boston) went with 1200 Men to Rhode Isl[d] & Carried away all the Officers of the Crown that woud not take the shocking Oath he imposes.

The Rebels made a demand on the Collector at Rhode Island of the Kings Money upon which he had fled on board the Rose Man of War, they then Seized on his house & effects & turnd his Wife out of doors. It is said (since this) that Gen[l] Lee is gone to Canada. The cruelties w[ch] are exercised on all those who are in their power is shocking, by advice from Kennebec the Committee there had sentenced a Man to be buried alive, for wishing succeſs to the Kings Troops, & that the sentence had been executed upon him. At Roxbury M[r] Ed: Brinleys wife whilst laying in, had a guard of Rebels always in her room, who treated her w[th] great rudness & indecency, exposing her to the view of

their banditti, as a sight "See a tory woman" and stripd her & her Children of all their Linnen & Cloths.

On the 18th Decr The Rebels exercised their Artillry upon Boston, a 24 pound shot fell into the Garden of the House occupied by Lord Percy. During that Night & the next day there was a great discharge of Shells from Mortars against the Rebels in the opposite works, which silenced them.

When the Letter concluded they seemed to be under little apprehension from the Enemy, if they cou'd but get fuel & Victuals. what had been imported sold at an extravagant price. All the old houses & a number of wharves were pulling down to consume. The Rebel privateers were laid up, several of them had been taken, and it is to be hoped there will hereafter be better protection afforded by the Kings Ships to those of his Subjects. Aldn Shuldam is arrived at Boston.

I wrote to Mr R: Nicholson by the Carrier on Monday & sent two parcels to be forwarded in a Cask with other things to my Bror by the Ship for Boston, he desired particularly some Cobled Coals if they coud be sent, & I doubt not Mr N: will if he can — I shall have Money to remit to him (Mr N:) & I will desire him to pay you what you have paid for my Shoes &c I desired Mifs Lem to mention My recieving 'em some time ago.

We have just been drinking tea at your Sisters She's well, desires her love as does Mrs Tylston

This day poor Mifs Griffiths remains was brought to Chestr from Bristol to be interrd here

This Morning Dr Weaver & Mrs Richardson were married — a wedding much the Subject of conversation — With best Compts to Mr & Miſs L:

I am Dr Mrs L: Affect friend &c

A. Hulton.

XXII

Dear Mrs Lightbodys kind favor of the 30th May, I had the pleasure to receive here, was glad to hear you were taking pleasure in your Viſsit to Matlock, hope you will all reap benefit by it particularly that Miſs L:s health will be confirmed, and may you long enjoy health & peace & every domestick bleſsing.

Tho' you had not desired it, I fully intended to write you my Dear friend, when I shoud hear from my Bror as I am perswaded your benevolent heart wou'd participate in the Sufferings of your friends, & in what gives pleasure too, therefore this I shoud most readily communicate. Two or three days ago I rec'd a Letter from my Bror dated Halifax, April 19th 1776. he says "after all our Perils & troubles we are thank God got safe to this place, & my family are in health.

It is wonderful how we have been preserved thro' all our alarms, Dangers, & distreſses. We suffer in Loſs of property with many worthy persons, here alaſs! are many families who lived in ease & plenty at Boston, that now have scarce a shelter, or any means of subsistence. however the fugitives in general seem to bear thier Adversity with great fortitude." He says nothing

of coming to England but that they wait for the next advices from London.

I desired my Aunt Hincks to acquaint Mr R Nicholsons. I woud have sent you a more particular account of their departre from Boston, & their Voyage to Halifax, which I have from my Brors Journal, that a Gentleman in Londn has sent me, but that I am Straitned for time, having many Letters to write at once, to my friends. It is the Most Affecting Narrative to me I ever read, perhaps I may trouble you with some extracts from it som'time hence.

Not being certain whether you continue Still at Matlock, I intend to send this in a packet to Chester, & am affraid of being too Late for the Newsman. I am at Mrs Swanwick at present, think to return to Chester by the begining of July, am glad to hear your Sister is got so well, I thought the Country Air woud be of servise to [her] She was very poorly when I was at Chester Mrs Tylston & she, talk'd of taking a jaunt to Wem, whilst I am here, but don't hear whether they will or not. Mrs T: is I believe at Mrs Halls still, Mrs Swanwick desires her Love to you, At H: & Mrs Whitworth Staid here about 10 days, & Mrs W Brett & Miss were here all friends this way are well.

My best respects to Mr & Miss L:

I am Dear Madam

Your Affectionate

friend & Hble Servt

A Hulton

Wem

June 14

XXIII

I have long waited for good news, which I can now communicate to my Dr friend, of my Brothers safe arrival in his Native Country, with his family all well. They sailed from Halifax the 18th July. The next day were seperated from thier Convoy in a heavy gale of wind, off the Isle of Sables, & with great difficulty they kept from driving to the Shore. Thro' the rest of the Voyage had mostly stormy weather. Mrs H: was sick the whole time. Upwards of 50 paſsengers on board. My Bror & Sister & their four boys Landed at Dover the 15th instt Leaving the rest of the Paſsengers, & thier Servants, all on board the Ship (except the Childs maid.) the Wind still blew high.

What great dangers they have escaped, How long & painful the suspence I have been in, agitated between hope, & fear. It has indeed been a time of severe trial to me.

Thanks be to God for his goodneſs in preserving them, & delivering me from the distreſsing apprehensions I have been under, particularly of late, which I coud not avoid, as I supposed them to embark the beginning of July.

I doubt not you will joyn me in acknowledgments to Heaven, & let it encourage your & my trust in future.

My Bror writes me from Kensington, the 18 instt when they had just arrived at the Rev'd Mr Healds who married a Sister of Mrs Hultons. Mrs Heald had lain in about a fortnight, but had lost her little one, a

boy. She has four girls, and the eight cozens were all gone to Walk in Kensington Gardens.

My Bro^{r} says he can't answer for Edward that he won't beat some of his new relations before he return'd — he is a Lively arch boy & was a favorite with the Military Gentlemen particul^{y} Lord Percy.

My Bro^{r} seems desirous to get down into the Country, but must continue in London a while to wait on his Superiors. There is a good house open for him & his family, at M^{r} Prestons in Charles Street, Berkley Square.

I hope this will find you, your family, and Coz^{n} H: T: all. I beg to be kindly remember^{d} to 'em all

I am Dear Mad^{m}

Your Affectionate

A Hulton

Stanstay near
Wrexham *Aug^{t} 19th*

I've been here 3 Weeks for Country Air, but the Weather has been so bad, for the most part wet & windy, that have had little benefit of it. Here is good Company in the house M^{rs} Cooper & M^{rs} Wilbraham

I think to go to Parkgate again to Bathe, when our friend M^{rs} T: returns. hope we shall have Cof^{n} H: T: company there too.

XXIV

I had the pleasure lately to hear of My Dr friend, that you were well.

Intended to write you by this Opportunity, & wou'd not omit it, tho' indeed I have not had time to transcribe from the journal of the Retreat from Boston.

I am perswaded you will be pleased to hear that I am got into agreable Lodgings, It is at Mr Sprostons in Watergate Street Row, where Mrs Wrench's used to keep the Card Asſembly. I have a good Comfortable Lodging room, besides a parlour to myself, (tho' its to to the Row & consequently Dark) and I board likewise in the house. The situation you know is not far from my friends. I wish you was in reach of this circle, but we are not to expect everything we wish. A number of Ladies have been so obliging to call on me in my new Apartments, & I have been engaged every Afternoon except twice since I came here a fortnight ago. However it is a falling off to be sure from the last house I was at, where I had the pleasure of your Company. That was transient, & the parting added to the mortifications I have met with in changing Scenes. The impreſsions of the past, pleasing or otherwise cannot be effaced, and when a Solitary hour allows room for reflection, it still appears a wonder to Me, that I am here, in my Native Country, escaped from the dangers, & free from dreadful alarms. That I can go to bed without Apprehensions of Cannonadings, by which I used to be roused, & rise up without anxious thoughts, for sup-

plies, & safety by day, and walk out & see plentiful markets & easy countenances, instead of deserted Streets, empty market-places, or to meet discontented looks, & anxious distreſs.

How wonderful are the ways of Providence, & by what severe discipline we may be taught the value of the common bleſsings of Life. Thanks to a Kind Providence that it was temporary, that the scene is changed both with myself & my friends, for whose safety I have felt more than when I was amidst the alarms & horrors of War. I rec'd a letter from my Bro^{r} a few days ago, when he was near setting out to return from Norfolk to London, he seems greatly pleased with the journey, their reception & entertainment there, and charm'd with M^{r} & M^{rs} Preston, thier characters, & thier Kind & affectionate treatment. I doubt not they enjoyd with peculiar pleasure the soothing kindneſs of their frends, after the roughs and storms they have paſsd thro'. By this time my Bro^{r} is at S^{r} Geo: Bakers near Kensington Square — to reside the Winter, or till June next, if all be well.

Tomorrow I am to viſsit your Sister & meet M^{rs} Potts's there. beg my best Comp^{ts} to M^{r} & Miſs L:

I am Dear Mad^{m} your Affectionate

A Hulton

Chester *Nov^{r} 10.*

I regret that I have had so little of Miſs Croppers Company. She's the same agreable woman as ever.

I rec[d] a p[r] Pumps from M[r] Garnett & shall send an order to him for more 'ere long, & then pay him.

I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you & particularly of what concerns You & Yours, as I have wrote of mine, for be aſsured I am interest in your happineſs.

XXV

Dear Madam,

From the unpromising accounts which You will have received from time to time of my Sisters state of health, I doubt not You will have been expecting to hear the melancholy tidings I have now to communicate. She is released from the pains and sorrows of mortality; and considering the long duration of her sufferings, the event tho' mournful to us, may be esteemed happy to her; and we may mitigate our sorrow, from the hopes we may entertain of her having made an happy exchange.

It is these circumstances that call forth the trial of our faith. It is in these circumstances that we reap the fruit of it. There is great consolation in considering our dear and worthy friends as being gone a little while before Us to a state of happineſs, to which we are every day nearer approaching. There is great comfort in looking forwards with steadfast hope thro' the gloom that is around Us to a future state of felicity, where we hope to meet again with those who were dear to Us,

and enjoy an happineſs uninterrupted by Sin, by pain, or Sorrow.

I often think on the last words of my late worthy friend Colº Martin of Antigua, when I took leave of him in that Island. "You leave me (says he) like a "Mercury on the house top, with my wings expanded "towards heaven, and only one foot on the earth." happy state of the mind, to be so disposed, may we in like manner endeavour to have our affections so engaged, and hold ourselves so prepared.

Mrs Hulton desires to join m[e in] best respects to Yourself and the Young Ladies, and I remain with great esteem & regard,

Dear Madam
Your most obedient
and most humble Servant
Hen. Hulton

Burcot, near Wells,
Somersetshire.
Jan. 13. 1779.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

BOSTON, *June 20, 1775*

Dear Sir: I had the favor of a letter from you about two months ago. For these two months past our situation has been critical and alarming, the town being blockaded, and the whole country in arms all around us. The people have not only cut us off from all supplies, but they do their utmost to prevent any kind of provision being brought us from the neighboring ports; and as we were surprised into these circumstances, I wonder we have held out so long as we have done. We have bread, salt meat, and fresh fish, and there appears no distress for want of subsistence. Many thousands of the inhabitants abandoned their dwellings, in apprehension that a speedy destruction would fall on the place; and, indeed, we have been wonderfully preserved. The affair of the 19th of April prevented the execution of a diabolical plot, and had not the troops gone out on the 17th instant, it is probable that the town at this hour would have been in ashes. The reinforcement to the army from England came very timely, for the generals only awaited the arrival of these regiments to enter upon action.

We are now very anxious for the arrival of the second division, and I am afraid it will be necessary to have another to that, before the army can operate effectually round this place. The country is very strong by nature, and the rebels have possessed themselves of all the advantageous posts, and have thrown up intrenchments in many parts. From the heights of this place, we have a view of the whole town, the harbor, and country round for a great extent, and last Saturday I was a spectator of a most awful scene

my eyes ever beheld. On the morning of the 17th, it was observed that the rebels had thrown up a breastwork, and were preparing to open a battery upon the Heights above Charlestown, from whence they might incommode the shipping, and destroy the north part of Boston. Immediately a cannonading began from the battery in the north part of the town and the ships of war, on those works, and on the enemy, wherever they could be discovered within reach of their guns. Soon after eleven o'clock, the grenadiers, light infantry, marines, and two battalions marched out of their encampments, and embarked in boats, and before high water were landed on a point of land to the eastward of Charlestown, and they immediately took post on a little eminence. Great was our trepidation lest they should be attacked by superior numbers, before they could be all assembled and properly prepared, but more boats arrived, and the whole advanced, some on the other side, round the hill where the battery was erected, and some through part of Charlestown. On that side of the hill which was not visible from Boston, it seems very strong lines were thrown up, and were occupied by many thousands of the rebels. The troops advanced with great ardor towards the intrenchments, but were much galled in the assault, both from the artillery and the small arms, and many brave officers and men were killed and wounded. As soon as they got to the intrenchments, the rebels fled, and many of them were killed in the trenches and in their flight. The marines, in marching through part of Charlestown, were fired at from the houses, and there fell their brave commander, Major Pitcairn. His son was likewise wounded. Hearing his father was killed, he cried out, 'I have lost my father'; immediately the corps returned, 'We have lost our father.' How glorious to die with such an epitaph!

Upon the firing from the houses, the town was immediately set in flames, and at four o'clock, we saw the fire and

the sword, all the horrors of war raging. The town was burning all the night; the rebels sheltered themselves in the adjacent hills, and the neighborhood of Cambridge, and the army possessed themselves of Charlestown Neck. We were exulting in seeing the flight of our enemies, but in an hour or two we had occasion to mourn and lament. Dear was the purchase of our safety! In the evening the streets were filled with the wounded and the dying; the sight of which, with the lamentations of the women and children over their husbands and fathers, pierced one to the soul. We were now every moment hearing of some officer, or other of our friends and acquaintance, who had fallen in our defence, and in supporting the honor of our country. General Howe had his aid-de-camp wounded, who is since dead. The Major and three Captains of the 52nd were killed, or died of their wounds, — most of the grenadiers and light infantry, and about eighty officers, are killed and wounded. The rebels have occupied a hill about a mile from Charlestown Neck; they are very numerous, and have thrown up intrenchments, and are raising a redoubt on the higher part, whilst the ships and troops cannonade them wherever they can reach them. In the same manner, on the other side of Boston Neck, on the high ground above Roxbury meeting [house], the rebels are intrenching and raising a battery. Such is our present situation. In this army are many of noble family, many very respectable, virtuous, and amiable characters, and it grieves one, that gentlemen, brave British soldiers, should fall by the hands of such despicable wretches as compose the banditti of the country; amongst whom there is not one that has the least pretension to be called a gentleman. They are a most rude, depraved, degenerate race, and it is a mortification to us that they speak English, and can trace themselves from that stock.

Since Adams went to Philadelphia, one Warren, a ras-

cally patriot and apothecary of this town, has had the lead in the Provincial Congress. He signed commissions, and acted as President. This fellow happily was killed, in coming out of the trenches the other day, where he had commanded and spirited the people, &c., to defend the lines, which, he assured them, were impregnable. You may judge what the herd must be when such a one is their leader. Here it is only justice to say that there are many worthy people in this province, but that the chief of them are now in Boston, and that amongst the gentlemen of the Council, particularly, are many respectable and worthy characters.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. N. and all friends with you, and remain, with great regard,

Dear sir, yours,

H. H.

Canada

This Conquest after viewing the Country, the situation & works of the Enemy, I believe must appear very extraordinary to the Military Gentlemen, there does not appear to be any other place where the Army cou'd have affected a landing, but just where it was made, and that was very critical, and hazardous, another day wou[d] have prevented the succeſs of that attempt, as a Battalion was to have taken post there, & the gaining the heights thro' the narrow Paſs where they got up, might have been prevented by a small number of men.

Wheat is the staple of Canada, & they raise, & Export great quantities of this Grain, Ships come from the Southern parts of Europe, & pay for their Loading in Joan[s] Yet the people keep up the Money, little circulates, & there is no getting dollars or Silver in exchange for gold.

There is great simplicity & civility amongst the People, & however they may have been oppreſsed formerly, no people can be more at their ease, than the Canadians under

their present Goverment. they pay no taxes, and have the free enjoyment of their religeon. Luxury has as yet made no advances amongst them, they are even ignorant of many comforts & conveniences which their Soil woud afford, & a moderate ingenuity woud find out, but which a commerce with other people must in time shew them. They are a chearful, Lazy, dirty, ignorant, happy people.

Their Religeon, & the length & severity of their Winter allows them fewer days of labour than other Countries, Yet in their working days they do not do half the work of our people, but their idle time is not so much spent in Vice, as in chearful diſsipation, everyone has his horse, & Calash, and their pleasure is to drive about, dance, & sing. Yet in spite of all their Lazyneſs, they must grow rich. Nature amply recompences for the severity of the Winter, by the clothing she gives the Soil, & as soon as the Snow melts, the vegitation is surprizing. They bestow no pains in manuring, and improving the lands, yet the Soil along the River-side is very rich, & fertile, and great quantities of dung are left every year on the ice to be carried away, & they are so lazy as to suffer a great deal of graſs to remain uncut, & grow to waste, tho' their Cattle are half Starved in the Winter for want of fodder. Their horses are small, strong & shortneck'd, very good for a Carriage, but not fit for the Saddle, Their Cows are small half starved poor Creatures. They have no idea of a Dairy, or of making an house clean. They never wash their floors, & their Milk they keep in a Cupboard in the room where they sleep, their butter they make by beating it between their hands, & never put salt to it, and they know nothing of Cheese. There is plenty of pigs, & poultry, all along the road, but the peasantry eat little flesh meat, the quantity of bread they eat is amazing, they know nothing of roasting, & broiling, the Oven, & the pot, are the chief Arts in their Cookery. They might have plenty of Meat, beer, Milk, & butter, & Cheese, but they

won't be at the pains to have the comforts of Life, or to keep their houses clean. They put the Pot on the fire with some water, pease, cabbage, or other greens & half a pound of fat pork, when it is boiled they take it off, Stuff it full of bread, & this is a dinner for half a dozen peasants, and almost a constant Meal. Their Ovens are of Mud detached from their houses.

Potatoes were first introduced by Gen[l] Murray, & are now generaly used throughout the Country. They begin to sow winter grain. The cultivated lands are too much cleared of Woods, There wants some forrest trees, & Orcharding to aſsist the prospect, & they have no Gardens.

It is neceſsary to carry with one Tea, Sugar, Wine, & Victuals, in this journey and a Cook to dreſs them, if one woud be anywise comfortable.

They cut their boards all in lengths abo[t] 12 feet, so that every floor is pieced, & the boards clumsily laid down, & unplained. they have no notion of an handsome Staircase, but you creep upstairs like up a Ladder, dirty Stairs, dirty floors, bugs, & fleas, & no such thing as a neceſsary house. Yet they are the easiest, happiest people in the World.

Quebec — The Lower Town close to the water edge on the one Side, & joyns to a lofty hill on the other, & therefore very strait, close, & confined, the way to the upper Town vastly disagreable, steep, slippery, and miserably dirty. The Ramparts of the Upper Town as high again as the tops of the houses in the Lower. The Bishops Palace, the Intendants, Religeous Houses, and Churches, make the chief part of the Upper town. The Streets badly paved, & dirty, a fine extensive view from the Ramparts of the River, the Isle or Orleans, & Country round. The Town most rebuilt since the Siege of Montreal.

Went to Montmorenci to see the falls. Then to the Mouth of the Chaudier, in a boat 8 Miles, in a Cart 2 Miles,

& 2 Miles on foot thro' the Wood, & over the Rocks to the head of the falls, a dreadful March! creep & scramble along over pointed rocks & frightful precipices. Montmorency has only one fall, but here the Waters spread & preciptate themselves from a great height in many torrents, the view grand, & awful, & must be amazinly so when the River is full. We were obliged to carry a Ladder with us, to get up the rocks, and after having clamberd up a great way The difficulty of going backwards, [or] forwards, the noise of the Waters, the Objects above, below, and around made [it] very tremendous.

The next day Traversed the plains of Abraham with great Attention, observed the narrow Pafs by which the Army Afsend[d] the Spot where Wolf fell, & the several places remarkable by any of the Actions under Wolf, or Murray.

Sept 24. Set out from Quebec on our return home, The manner of travelling is in Calashes, a Kind of clumsy wooden Chaise, quite open, drawn by one horse, the price about 10[d] a League, they go 6 or 8 Miles an hour, & the horses & drivers are always ready at each Stage. very pleasant quick travelling, country well Settled, fine roads thro' a level country, & cultivated lands, crofs several rivers, go three Miles on the S[t] Lawrence in a Canoe, pafs the Mouths of three Rivers to the Town Trois Riviers, a considerable Town on the S[t] Lawrence, several Churches & Convents. Many Islands on the River afford very pleasant views. Go in a Canoe 1 Mile to the Island Montreal, which is 192 Miles from Quebec.

Montreal, the Taverns dear, & dirty, yet provifsions are very cheap, beef 1½[d] a pound, a Sheep for 5 or 6/ & a couple of Turkies for 18[d]. The houses here have thick stone walls, but the rooms not ceiled, everything is heard from one Room to Another.

Crofs'd the River S[t] Lawrence in a batteau, — to S[t] Johns & thro Woods 12 [Miles].

Octo^{r} 1. Embarked on board an Open batteau on Lake Champlain for Ticonderoga, having a Corporal & four Soldiers to row the Batteau. Arrive here the 6th Took off our cloths for the first time these five nights.

7. Hire a Batteau & set Sail to Crofs Lake George, which is about 2 Miles broad. blows hard with heavy Rains, but the wind being fair count it a fine paſsage, being 36 Miles in 6$\frac{3}{4}$ hours. When we arrive, the room at the house just washed, sit down on the wet floor, & dry our Cloathes at the fire, eat a supper of fine Salmon trout, & enjoy the Luxury of a good feather bed, Aye, & Curtains too.

[8] Wet & Windy, hire two horses to carry our Chaise to Fort Edward, where our horses are, go a mile & half over the Rocks, destreſsed with our Cattle, they won't draw, turn back, & get others. reach Fort Edward, find our horses still in the field, when brought in, they look miserably poor, & dirty, & the Negro Servant we Left with them almost Starved, forced to stay all night, Lay on the floor & slept comfortably. Smith the Landlord a Justice & of course a Squire, sad proof of the barreneſs of Gentlemen in these parts.

From Lake George to Boston. At Fort Edward croſs the River in a ferry, road near the River side, rude, rocky, sandy, thro' Woods with logs, over Swamps, & very bad road indeed. Arrive at

10. Albany sixty three Miles from [Lake] George. — Croſs Hudsons river in a ferry boat, a noble broad river 160 Miles from New York, Navigable for veſsils of 60 Tons. Several large fields near Albany of 100 Acres each sowed with wheat. On the Road dine at a Dutch house, the Dutch the reverse of the French, their houses very clean, plenty of Milk, butter, cheese & meat, but they have not the heart to use their good things. The Road thro' Woods, over Mountains, rude & rocky, & croſs some rivers.

In Connecticut the Houses are pretty well built, & the people drefsed a good deal in homespun, Nobody in These parts has the idea of a Superior, or of a Gentleman, other than themselves. They seem to be good substantial Kind of farmers, but there is no break in their Society, their Government, Religeon, & Manners all tend to support an equality. Whoever brings in your Victuals sets down & chats to you. They are strangely inquisitive throughout the Country, & ask a thousand odd Questions about who, & what you are, &c and the News of Boston. They are all Politicians, & all Scripture learnt. But as we have got rid of Government, we are going on as fast as we can to get rid of Religeon, & morality in this Country, and from the glorious spirit of Liberty, the restraint & authority of the Magistrate, & Minister, the Master & Parent is lost.

In Connecticut pafsed thro' severa[l towns]

Thro' Woods, & Mountains, up & down hill, & over very rocky bad roads. The people wonder never saw such a Carriage (as a Post Chaise) this way before. Hertford a fine large Town pleasantly situated on the River Side, two meetings & a Courthouse, proceed to Springfield came above 40 Miles round about to avoid the Green Woods, which we had pafs[d] thro' in the rout we went from hence. The Countrv from Springfield thro' Worcester, &c to Boston is Mountainous much of it still in Woods, & an uncleared state, the road up & down hill, often sandy & heavy, & a deal of poor Land. Arrived at Boston the 19[th] Octo. Having set out from hence 26 Aug[t] 1772.

	Land	Water	
Quebec to Montreal	192		
Montreal to Lake George	30	174	
Lake George to Boston	304		Miles
	526	174	700

This Journey performd from Boston to Quebec, and back again within 8 Weeks, and with the same carriage & horses from Boston to Lake George, or Fort Edward.

A Description of the Green Woods

48 Miles in length between Springfield & G^{t} Barrington, & about 100 Miles from Boston — Enter the Green Woods, The height of the Trees, the wide extent of the forest, the silence all around, impreſs the mind with awe, the road cut thro' woods of lofty pine trees, narrow, rough, rocky, hilly, every way bad, and hardly paſsable for a Carriage.

It is very surprizing to see the quantities of trees that are girdled, they look like a shatterd fleet, the whole way on every side looks like a Timber Yard, coverd with noble trees of 2 & 3 feet diameter lying to perish. Most of the way close to the road are Trees that have fallen, and torn up by their roots, others ready to fall, many that are falling, & stick by the branches of others which being girdled will soon fall themselves, so that one rides in terror. Many of these Trees are from 70 to 120 feet high (there are some 50 Yards high) and 3 or 4 feet diameter. One forgets the difficulty of the road in the apprehension from the impending trees, scarce escaping one, before another rotten tree hangs over One's head. People in the Woods keep wondering, ask what the Carriage is call'd, and what we are Laden with.

Written on traversing the Plains of Abraham.

On Fame's fair list the Soldier seeks to rise
By arduous acts, a dang'rous enterprise,
Thro' Death's wide field intrepidly proceeds,
With mind resolv'd, & fixt on valient deeds.
Thus up to Fame, the Kentish Hero rose
And reap'd fresh laurels midst Canadian snows.

Britain laments his fate, reveres his name
And Wolf is graven on the lists of fame,
That Name whenever youthful soldie[r reads]
His Soul shall glow to emulate his dee[ds]
And Age with tears of gratitude shall tell
Wolf bravely fought & crownd with glory fell.

The Contrast

In London

A heavy gloomy sky — suspicious countenances — barred doors — a display of wealth — a refinement of taste — self-gratification encreased — the heart contracted — principles corrupted — the paſsions inflamed — Greatneſs satieted with pleasure & pining under the weight of enjoyment — Wealth mortify'd — Men in office soured & discontented — Thousands living beyond their means to vie in appearance with those above them, — and of course wretched.

In Canada

A clear blue sky — chearful countenances — hearts at ease — open houses — a simplicity of manners — an ignorance of Luxury — a contentment with their lot. — innocent amusements — simple enjoyments & an hearty communication of them to others. Happy Canadian! who lives Sansouci — feels no want — Knows no anxiety but wrapt in flannel Jacket drives about in his carriole — with appetite keen — with spirits light as the air he breathes — laughs, sings, & dances life away — This is surely the Country where the plant call'd hearts-ease so rare els'where grows like a weed, & is found at every Cottage.

Weep grandeur, wealth and pride! be mortified vain Man, acknowledge the hand of the God of Nature bleſsing Simplicity. Own the folly of Thy persuits, and that to be happy, is to control, not pamper thy luxurious appetites.

Date Due

D 2 4[illegible]

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